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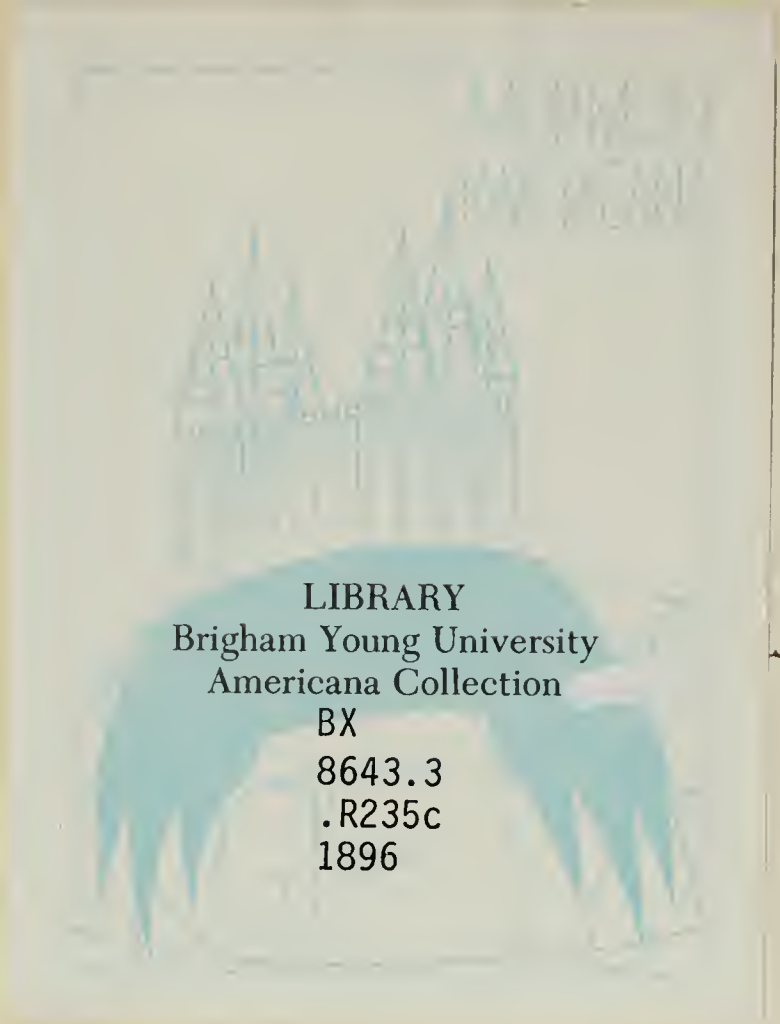
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Re-read 5/18th 1915, with amazement, so much will in it forecasted is now realized, and has been for years realizing

THE LATE MANIFESTO IN POLITICS.

Practical Working of "Counsel"

IN RELATION TO

Civil and Religious Liberty in Utah.

"That this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of Freedom, and that Government of the People, by the People, for the People, shall not perish from the Earth.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

PRICE, 25 CENTS.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
Dec. 22nd, 1896.

CHURCH AND STATE

THE ISSUE OF

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

IN UTAH.

A TESTIMONIAL IN BEHALF OF CIVIL LIBERTY AND THE AMERICAN STATE AS SEPARATE FROM THE CHURCH, AND DEDICATED TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM AND TRUE PROGRESS IN UTAH AND ELSEWHERE

BY

CALVIN REASONER.

Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,
And to God the things that are God's.
—*Jesus.*

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
Dec. 15th, 1896.

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PREFACE.

The little book herewith presented to the public, and especially to the Mormon people, discusses those underlying principles of liberty that permeate the parties and shape the policies of a free governing people. While the book is political in its texture, its arguments and illustrations are designed to have no partisan or sectarian application. Its appeal is addressed to intelligent minds and honest hearts of all creeds and persuasions.

The case of Moses Thatcher is presented at considerable length, but only as an illustration of the practical working and results of the policy and discipline of the Mormon priesthood organization under the political manifesto recently promulgated. And in order to give a comprehensive view of the issue, his late deposition from all priestly offices by his ecclesiastical quorum and his political record for a number of years past have been selected for presentation, for the reason that they are matters of present interest, they are most extensively before the people in printed form, and throughout their origin, progress and culmination they are more pertinent than any other as illustrations of the meaning and application of vital principles herein discussed.

There is no intention to vindicate Moses Thatcher personally in these pages. So far as his official and political record may have an appearance of approval, it is the reflection of general political principles in their application to a concrete case. What is said herein is said, not by him, and only in a subordinate way is anything said for him. The real truth is that nothing is said by him or for him; but his case is used as an object lesson to carry thoughts of the deepest importance to the people of Utah and the whole country.

Concerning the fundamental question raised in this book—the relation of church and state—there is a widespread misapprehension of a character similar to that presented in a well-written and candid letter by Judge Edwin G. Woolley in the *Tribune*, December 6, 1896. So far as the writer defends the proceedure of Church discipline in the case of Moses Thatcher we make no rejoinder; for this book is not concerned

with matters purely ecclesiastical. But in discussing the political side of the controversy raised against Moses Thatcher by the *Deseret News*, Judge Woolley is wholly unconscious that there is a state to be encroached upon by the Church; he could but make the same argument if the State were absolutely within the Church as an ecclesiastical function. He fails to apprehend that the occasion of contention is that the Church abandons its true sphere and usurps political authority when it enjoins "counsel" as a condition precedent to nominations and elections to civil offices. When Judge Woolley finds that there is such a thing as a State we shall be pleased to have him define it in a way that will show it incapable of being absorbed by the rule of "counsel."

And it may be further said in behalf of the writer of these pages, that as in times past he has said and done and written many things in kindly regard for the Mormon people, because it was deemed to be their due; so in this book, waiving personal considerations, the truth is sought to be presented and urged, not in any particular interest, but in behalf of humanity at large and the progress of the race.

Mankind is struggling up into the light of God and a higher civilization; and the race is deeply concerned with whatever promotes or impedes its progress. No true man can refuse to receive the truth from any quarter; neither can he be grieved when present customs and beliefs are shown to be erroneous. It is only as the present is passed away that the future glory is revealed.

CALVIN REASONER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, Dec. 15, 1896.

CHAPTER FIRST.

MOSES THATCHER'S OFFENSE.

The following pages present, by way of illustration, the case of Moses Thatcher in relation to the recently adopted rule of the Mormon Church, and the disciplinary action of the Quorum of Apostles deposing him from the apostolic office and other priestly functions, in conformity with the spirit and requirements of said rule as embodied in the Manifesto concerning "counsel" which was promulgated during the Conference of last April.

It must be remembered that the action taken by Mr. Thatcher is not without its tragic element; for with his fidelity to a sense of duty he is compelled to relinquish positions of honor and usefulness which he cherished as the honest fruitage and well earned recognition of long years of earnest labor and generous sacrifice in the service of his Church. Furthermore in his ecclesiastical humiliation, he contemplates nothing less than genuine faithfulness in the fellowship and brotherhood of Christ, realizing that service is ministry, and that to be greatest of all is to be servant of all.

In order that people who have not kept themselves fully informed on current events, and especially those living outside the state, may understand the nature and origin of matters discussed in this statement, it is well to state that for several years there has been more or less friction in the Mormon church arising out of the political conduct of some of its leading men. About 1890, when the people of the Territory of Utah were considering the question of dividing on national party lines to the exclusion of church issues, it was decided by the governing officials of the Mormon Church that men holding the higher orders of the Mormon priesthood should refrain from entering politics personally, lest jealousies and ill feeling might arise because of the influential positions which they held in the Church. Accordingly, a rule was promulgated requiring the several higher grades of Mormon officials to decline leadership in the political parties.

It appears that this rule was soon disregarded by the action and counsel of the same governing officials in the Church; and this because of political conditions and complications wherein it was deemed best, in order to promote statehood for Utah, to intervene in a partisan way, so that the Territory might show up in certain political colors, thereby to secure powerful influence in behalf of statehood legislation. In keeping with this policy, it soon transpired that high officials on one side were "counseled" to go forth and gather in the political harvest, while officials on the other side in politics were "counseled" to stay at home and hold their peace.

Moses Thatcher took the view that when the rule was abrogated for one or more, it was set aside for all; and accordingly he spoke in public several times, and in all his addresses never failed to urge the importance of a complete separation of church and state. His course gave offense to some of his brethren on the opposite side in politics, and there were numerous passages at arms politically; and there was also a good deal of muttering in Church councils where his conduct came up with reference to ecclesiastical disapprobation and censure. But the whole matter was covered up and carried over as a thorn in the flesh until after statehood was secured; and then the Church authorities issued an address of great length and prolixity, embodying a specific rule to the effect that all officers in the Church—and almost all male members are officers—should seek "counsel" before accepting any political nomination or any secular position. The rule itself is as follows:

> First—We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the Church and by every leading official thereof, that before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn from them whether he can consistently with the obligations already entered into with the Church upon assuming his office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position.

The manifesto containing the foregoing rule was presented to Moses Thatcher for his signature, but for reasons indicated in the following, he withheld his name.

> SALT LAKE CITY, April 6, 1896.
>
> "At about 12 o'clock this morning two of the quorum of the Twelve called on me and presented a document of several pages for my consideration, wishing me to sign it immediately, so that they could take it away

with them. On my request for more time to consider the matter, they agreed to leave it with me until 1:30 p. m., at which time I returned the document with the following reply:

SALT LAKE CITY, April 6, 1896.

President Lorenzo Snow and Apostle Brigham Young:

DEAR BRETHREN—Having carefully read the document left with me for consideration, I herewith return it as per promise. There is much of its contents that I could heartily endorse by signing, but there are other portions which I cannot endorse without stultification. If I were well I might view this most serious matter in another light; or I might do so had I more time to consider it. But as it is, it seems that I must determine now, though I fully realize how sadly long illness has weakened me in every way. In the future the Lord may enable me to define my views and acts as running along those of honor, integrity and truth. Now I can only humbly ask that you act according to the Holy Spirit's dictation as prompted by justice and brotherly love towards your fellow laborer in the cause of our Savior.

MOSES THATCHER.

The daily papers made the whole circumstance a matter of news, their reports exhibiting the first flush of public sentiment. The *Tribune* has the following:

The session of the Mormon Church Conference yesterday afternoon produced a stupendous political and religious sensation. The question that stirred Utah last fall relative to the candidacy of Church officials for political office was revived by a proclamation in which the rule was reaffirmed that men engaged in the service of the church must take counsel—that is, ask permission—of the Church authorties before becoming candidates for political positions. The address in itself was sufficient to excite the most profound interst. But the fact that it was subscribed to by B. H. Roberts was sensational. It did not bear the signature of Moses Thatcher, who, with Roberts, was under the ban last fall for violating the rule, and the lack of his name on the document was the cause of another development that was astounding.

When the names of Apostles were called in the conference, that the people might vote to sustain these officials, that of Moses Thatcher was not announced. The failure to name him was not generally noted at the time, but when the knowledge of the omission was spread through the great congregation it excited most intense interest. Many were at first disposed to believe that the omission to submit Apostle Thatcher's name to a vote was due to a mistake. But it was not so. The omission was deliberately intentional. The address had been taken to the Apostle about 12 o'clock by President Lorenzo Snow and Apostle Brigham Young, and he had been requested to sign it. After examining it he had declined to do so. This refusal occurred but a short time before the meeting of the Conference in the afternoon, but the intervening time was long enough for the Church authorities to decide to withhold his name from the Conference.

In Mr. Thatcher's card, given above, is contained the statement of his reasons for not signing which he gave to the bearers of the address. It was upon this statement that the action of the Church authorities was based. Though the letter to his fellow Apostles is couched in touching terms, it is clear from it that years of physical suffering have not deprived him of the courage of his convictions. He holds that to sign the address would be to stultify himself, and he cannot do that, even to secure peace.

The refusal to sign the Manifesto was thought to be the last straw of Moses Thatcher's offending. For several years it had been secretly whispered that he had been insubordinate to his priestly associates and superiors. In subsequent pages his alleged demerits will be more fully exhibited. It all amounts to this: He sought to think and act like any ordinary American citizen guided by the principles of Thomas Jefferson. But the "counsel" that interdicted his freedom of action was not in sympathy with the principles of Jefferson. It sought to make him a mere cog in the wheels of a priesthood program for the manipulation of the political machinery of Utah in accordance with the dictates of a single central intelligence. For twenty years Moses Thatcher had shown symptoms of political independence. Finally a rule was conceived and promulgated which would either clip his wings or disrobe him of his priestly functions. That rule forced him to decide whether he would abdicate his political manhood and hold his apostlehip, or otherwise preserve his freedom of citizenship and cease to administer priestly offices that were not germane to the Declaration of Independence. He chose to pursue a course "running along the lines of honor, integrity and truth."

It will be seen in the following chapter that a great effort was made to disseminate Moses Thatcher's demerits over an almost unlimited area; but the discerning reader will see at a glance that the refusal to endorse the Manifesto was the last grievance that a priesthood sovereignty would tolerate. Thenceforth it was either "recant or burn."

CHAPTER SECOND.

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST MOSES THATCHER.

At the time of the April Conference Mr. Thatcher was a very sick man, scarcely able to walk across the room, and neither he nor his friends had much hope of his recovery. Soon, however, he began to mend, and concluded to spend several weeks at a mountain resort up the Logan Canyon. Before leaving the City he was assured by the Presidency of the Church and members of his quorum that nothing would be done in reference to his matter till his return and recovery. This assurance was repeated to him while he was in the mountains, but for some unknown reason the First Presidency and members of his quorum did take up his case and made public charges against him in the last General Conference held in October.

The purport of the remarks made in the Conference was to show up a continued insubordination on the part of Mr. Thatcher extending over a period of several years. His name had been dropped from the list of authorities presented for confirmation at the April Conference immediately after his refusal to sign the Manifesto, all the other names on the document having been signed before it was presented to Mr. Thatcher. It is evident that the authorities did not keep faith with Mr. Thatcher in bringing up his case in his absence; and it is apparent that there was a desire to locate the difficulty with Thatcher on other grounds than that of his refusal to sign the manifesto; though if he had signed it when it was presented to him in April there would have been no question as to his standing with his quorum.

In order to show the sentiments of the First Presidency and Apostles at the October Conference in regard to Mr. Thatcher, and the grounds on which his insubordination was condemned, a few utterances from several speakers are herewith presented, the quotations being from the *Deseret News*:—

GEO. Q. CANNON.

(October 4.)

When I respect and honor Wilford Woodruff I bow to God who has chosen him. My neck does not and never did bow to man. Those who know me know that I am unbending in that respect. I may get along

quietly; I do not like to quarrel; but I never yet bowed to man. I only bow to proper authority.

If I listen to Wilford Woodruff, if I look to him to see how the Spirit of God moves upon him; if I ask his counsel and take it, it is because God has commanded me. God has given him the keys of authority. Let anybody else try it, and see what effect their action would have. When Joseph F. Smith obeys Wilford Woodruff, he does it upon the same principle. We reverence him as the prophet of God, and as our leader. We listen to him, and are guided by his slightest wish. It is because we know that he is the servant of God, chosen by the Almighty to fill that place, and that he holds the keys of the Priesthood to this generation on the earth at the present time. I can say truthfully that we strive to consult his slightest wish, and honor him in his position, because we know that God has chosen him. And who are we that we should withstand God? Who are we that we should withstand that which God reveals? Does this sacrifice our independence? Not in the least. And these Twelve Apostles are in precisely the same position. When they accept the counsel of the First Presidency, they do it because they believe the First Presidency to be chosen of God. They may have different views on many things; but when the First Presidency gives counsel, every man that has the Spirit of God accepts that counsel. This does not prevent him from entertaining his views and expressing them, and it does not detract from his influence. Now, we do not ask this people to be more obedient than we are. We do not ask you to do something that we are not willing to do. We have set you the example. We ask you, as the Lord asks you, to obey the authority of God and to respect it.

WILFORD WOODRUFF.

(October 5.)

My brethren and sisters, there is something pressing upon my mind that I want to say. We have arrived at a point here with regard to circumstances that it is my duty to take up as the President of the Church. The First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles were never more united as a body than they are today. Our spirits are united. We believe together, we work together, we pray together; and we believe in each other, because we are all trying to do the will of God. This is the case with all of us, with one exception. That exception is Brother Moses Thatcher.

There has been a great deal said with regard to Brother Moses Thatcher, and many have wondered why something was not done about him. Well, I will say that this is a matter that belongs to the Twelve Apostles. He is a member of that quorum, and of course it is their duty to take hold of that work and attend to it until it is settled.

The Apostles know that he has neglected to meet with them at times when he could and should have done so. He has been at difference with them in many things that have transpired. He has been by himself in his labor, and for himself, and not for the Church. Now, I want to say that neither Moses Thatcher nor any other man on the face of the earth can stand in the way of this Church. We have had almost whole quorums of Apostles that have been in the road, and they have had to be moved out of it, because the kingdom of God cannot stop for anybody—for Wilford Woodruff, for Moses Thatcher, or for anybody else. Unless we work with

the Saints of God, with the Priesthood of God and with the organization of His Church, we cannot have any power or influence.

I pray that His blessing and spirit may rest, not only on the First Presidency and Apostles and the whole Priesthood and the Saints. but upon Moses Thatcher, that his eyes may be opened to see, his ears to hear, and his heart to comprehend his position and duty before God and man.

PRESIDENT LORENZO SNOW.

(October 5.)

As the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, of which Brother Thatcher is a member, I want to say a few words in connection with this subject that has been introduced by President Woodruff.

About the last conversation I had with Brother Thatcher was in the Temple, either at the last spring or fall Conference. We had prayed for him, and we had sent some of our most experienced brethren to talk with him privately and beg of him to make things satisfactory. I called on Brother Brigham Young, because I knew he felt an interest in Brother Thatcher, and was a wise man, to go and see him and plead with him to make things satisfactory. But he failed. He came and reported to me that a spirit of darkness seemed to reign in Brother Thatcher's heart, and he could not reach it. I still thought, however, that he would come and make things right before he returned to his home in Logan; and about the second or third day after this, I was visited by him in the Temple. I never felt to rejoice more in my heart than when I saw him enter my room. I thought he had made up his mind to do that which we requested him to do and to place himself in perfect fellowship with the brethren of the quorum. I talked with him. I did most of the talking myself. I felt the spirit of it, as I always did when I spoke to him, because my heart was warm towards him, and the Lord seemed to help me so that I felt perfectly at home in telling him just what the Lord dictated to me. I thought he had come to my room with his mind made up to take a course to come into fellowship with his quorum. I was disappointed, however, I felt like shedding tears when he left the room. There was not that disposition existing in him that I hoped there would be when he came.

Now, there is a certain document that you have heard talked about a good deal. Brother Young and myself took that document to Brother Thatcher. His physical condition was not very promising, and I asked him if I should read it to him. He said he preferred to read it himself, and he read it—read it very deliberately. He said he did not feel then to approve of it altogether; he wished it to remain for awhile. We accorded him his wish. As President Woodruff had said, not half the trouble is in relation to that document—not one-hundredth part that is talked about. Of course, it was rather singular. There were appended to that document the names of the First Presidency, of the Apostles, (with the exception of Brother Lund, who was then in England) of the first seven Presidents of the Seventies, of the Patriarchs, and of the presiding Bishopric—twenty-four names in all, representing the authorities of the Church; but he did not feel inclined, he said, to put his name to the document.

I am reminded of a little anecdote I heard of Brother Erastus Snow, which illustrates a principle. Brother George A. Smith was speaking to an "outside" audience one night, and Brother Erastus fell asleep. When

he got through preaching he sat down and elbowed Brother Erastus, and requested him to bear his testimony. It was thought that Brother Erastus had scarcely heard a word; but he arose and said: "My friends, every word that my brother here has said is God's truth." Now, why did he say so? There was a reason for this. Why, he knew Brother George A. Smith; he had heard him preach a hundred times, and he knew that he was a man of inspiration, and he would never say anything but that was true. Well, I think when a man is so well acquainted with the First Presidency, with the Apostles, with the Patriarch, with the Presidents of Seventies, and with the Presiding Bishops, he ought to have some confidence in the position of these brethren; and if that brother is rather low in his mind and does not really feel competent to judge of the matter, he ought to have confidence in his Brethren.

Brethren and sisters, these are solemn truths that I have told you and what President Woodruff has stated. I want you all to pray for brother Thatcher. As soon as his physical abilities will allow, we shall have him before our quorum and he will be treated by his friends. But there are certain rules and regulations, that we as the servants of God, must conform to, and we are not responsible for them.

JOHN HENRY SMITH:

(October 5.)

I have recognized the fact that there must be an explantion made to the Latter-day Saints in connection with the subject upon which the President of the Church and the President of the Council of the Apostles have treated. I fully understand that within three days after Brother Moses Thatcher declined to sustain his associates he would have been dealt with for his fellowship and standing in the Council of the Apostles but for his physical condition.

The Presidency of the Church and the Council of the Apostles, in their deliberations upon all questions that affect the wellbeing and interest of the cause, are as candid and frank in their consultations and expression of views as any body of men could possibly be. But when a conclusion has been reached as to the course that should be pursued, it is expected that every man will give in his adherence to the course marked out, and with unfaltering voice and fixed determination, so that those counsels may prevail, so far as may be possible, among the whole people.

It is not my thought, in the time that I am here, to dwell upon the position in which our brother finds himself. I have held the hope, I hold the hope now, that he will see his way clear to put himself in unison with his associates, that he may stand with them and receive in the end the commendation of our Father, through his humility, and that his name may not be effaced from the roll of honor which God in this dispensation and in this day has established. It is not for me to speak further upon this subject. I stand by my President and by the Presidency of this Church in the position they have taken, because I know they are right.

My judgment was convinced that their position was absolutely correct, or I never would have subscribed my name to that document, nor would I, in connection with my brethren, have sought in various ways to awaken a class of reflections in the mind of our brother that would have brought him in unison with the council of which he is a member.

BRIGHAM YOUNG:

(October 5.)

There was a time when I was absent from Utah for two years and a half. I left here in August, 1890. But I knew more than I cared to know before I left then in relation to this matter. I cannot see a man rise up and stand in open rebellion to his brethren in defiance of the pleadings of his quorum, and feel that he has the Spirit of God in him, which I witnessed previous to my departure in 1890; for I saw Brother Moses stand in open rebellion to his quorum.

On a certain occasion, quite a long time ago, I went to President Woodruff and asked him the question: "What is the reason of this darkness that I see in the mind of a man whom I have loved like a brother, whom I had placed in my affection, equal to any man upon the face of the earth." This is the answer that he gave me: "He has sought to rule over his brethren and has lost the spirit."

Where, brethren and sisters, will you get the channel of communication opened up between you and the powers that reign over the earth? The God that sits in the heavens, and the angels and saints that visit us—through what line of communication do they come? God has placed these authorities here to guide His people, and when a man cuts that thread for himself, then the channel of revelation is destroyed, so far as that man is concerned. If you and I ever consider that we can reach God and get His mind and will in relation to this great work without receiving it through the channel of those men who stand at the head, then all I have to say to you or myself is, we have cut the thread between us and the Spirit of God, and we are left to wander in bye and forbidden paths. One channel, one organization! And no man may rise against that and expect that he will be favored of the Lord or permitted to enjoy His Spirit.

JOSEPH F. SMITH:

(October 5.)

I wish merely to say a word to guard the people from unwise sympathies. While we may have a great deal of love for our fellow beings, and especially for those who have been favored of the Lord in times past we should exercise that love wisely. Now, I love men and women who are devoted to the cause of truth, and my sympathies are always with them. But it is impossible for me to sympathize with those who do wrong. It is written somewhere in the laws of God that "the Lord required the heart, and a willing mind and the willing and the obedient shall eat the good of the land of Zion in these last days." Now, if a man has given his heart unto the Lord, and is willing and obedient unto God and his requirements, that man I love and that man has my sympathy. But when he turns away from the love of God and steels his heart against the laws of God and the counsels of his priesthood, then amen to the authority and power of that man and to my love and sympathy for him in his wrong-doing. I may pity him for his wrong-doing, and I may love him, too, as well as anybody else; but when he ceases to do right, that is the end of it with me. He may go his own road and I will go mine. I love my own brother; I love my sister; I love my wife and children; but when my brother, or sister, or wife, or child turns away from God and raises the heel against the Almighty and turns his or her heart to their own selfish desires and whims

they are no more to me than the heathen; for they are unbelievers, and they are not my brother nor my sister in the covenant of the gospel, and that covenant is stronger than all other covenants and all other ties that bind the Saints together.

The man that will abide in the covenant is my brother and my friend, and has my sympathy and love, and I will sustain him. But the man who raises his heel and his voice against the servants of God and the authority of the Priesthood on the earth is not my friend, and he has not my sympathy nor my love. Mercy has done its work; patience has endured long enough; and all Israel must know that a man, whether he is an Apostle, a High Priest, or a Seventy, that will not hearken to the voice of God, that will not give his heart unto the Lord, that is not obedient, must cease to be fellowshipped by the people of God. We cannot uphold men who will pursue a course like this, or who will betray their brethren. We cannot afford it, and we cannot do it and be justified before the Lord.

We have received a communication, saying that we stood self-condemned before the people, because we had transgressed the law of God, We have transgressed no law of God, so far as we know. It is a clear case of the twelve jurymen, eleven of whom were united and saw eye to eye. while the one stood out alone, claiming that all the rest were wrong. We have borne and borne. Six months have passed—aye, years have passed, because that which occurred six months ago marked only the forks of the road, only the dividing line. For years before we had tolerated, and patiently waited, we had prayed and petitioned, and we had suffered long and yet to no avail. Our councils have seldom been graced by his presence. He has not felt it necessary to be one with his brethren. He has estranged himself from us, not we from him. It is a matter concerning the government of the Church, and the authority which God has instituted to direct and to guide. It is the question as to whether the people will unite with the majority of the Priesthood, who are united and see eye to eye, or whether they will be misled by one man.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Smith, standing as he does at the head of a great ecclesiastical organization, should utter sentiments savoring so strongly of the dark ages. In the light of the gospel of the blessed Christ who died for all, both saint and sinner; in the presence of nineteenth century civilization, it sounds harsh and even cruel for a man to say that certain doctrines and ordinances are the supreme standard whereby he will either love brother, sister, wife or child; or otherwise spurn them from him and hold them as "heathen," if they do not believe and worship as he does. Surely Mr. Joseph F. Smith should realize that it is not a matter of doctrine or practice that is the true standard whereby to enter into sympathetic relations with men and women, but the soul endowment, the image of God in each and all. We may hate sin, but surely we must love the sinner. Such are the lessons of the Great Teacher.

In order that a little more light may be shed on the question of Moses Thatcher's disagreement with his quorum and the

First Presidency, it is well to add a portion of Mr. Smith's speech at the priesthood meeting at Logan a few months previous. There need be no question as to the accuracy of the report, for it is thoroughly substantiated, and may be read in full in the Salt Lake papers of May 10th and 11th, 1896:—

Joseph F. Smith was the next speaker. He said that Moses Thatcher's attitude all through the political fight in Utah could not be justified; that he had been the one Apostle who had refused to take counsel as to how the people should be divided up; that the First Presidency and all the Twelve but Thatcher had decided upon a certain policy to get the relief they needed from the government; but Thatcher had stood out against them; that he had been opposing his brethren ever since the division on party lines, and had not been in harmony with his quorum.

Joseph F. said further that the meeting called in the Gardo House to consider the advisability of disbanding the People's Party was attended by many of the authorities, stake presidents and leaders of the People's Party.

It was plainly stated at this meeting that men in high authority who believed in Republican principles should go out among the people, but that those in high authority who could not indorse the principles of Republicanism should remain silent. Their counsel was obeyed by all the Apostles and high authorities except Moses Thatcher, who talked to the people contrary to the wishes of his brethren. If it had not been for his condition, Moses Thatcher would have been called to account for his declaration in the opera house, (here giving Thatcher's declaration of political independence), but if he ever became able he would have to answer for that as well as other things they proposed to charge against him.

In this connection it is important to put on record a circumstance showing on the part of Joseph F. Smith a spirit of extraordinary resentment and clerical intolerance. At the Stake Conference held in Logan during the month of November, Bishop Lewis was reprimanded by Mr. Smith for making Moses Thatcher the subject of prayer, although Presidents Woodruff and Snow at the October Conference enjoined upon the Saints the duty of praying for him. The circumstance is narrated in the following letter from a prominent churchman, appearing in the *Tribune* November 21st:

LOGAN, UTAH, November 20, 1896.

It is fully realized here that in the Senatorial candidacy of Moses Thatcher and the fight being made against him by the organ which purports to voice the sentiments of the Church, a grave issue has arisen, greater, in fact, than the one caused by the issuance of the original manifesto abandoning the practice of polygamy, and there are thousands whose faith scarcely survived that ordeal.

A great moral question is involved, and it will not be without serious thought that conservative members of the Church will align themselves on

either side. A few years ago there could have been no doubt of the outcome. Then the utterances of the First Presidency and the Apostles would have been considered as the voice of God, and no one would have thought of upholding Moses Thatcher or any other man in opposition to their expressed will; but division on party lines brought about a change, and they are no longer considered infallible, especially in political affairs. They claim that Church and State have been divorced, but a candid examination of the rule they seek to enforce—that of asking consent before accepting office—will be sufficient to convince one that Moses Thatcher is right when he says that it might be the means of making the Church a great political machine, the steering apparatus of which would be in the hands of the twelve or fifteen men at the head. The majority of those who opposed the rule did it for the same reason expressed by Moses Thatcher in his recent interview for the *Tribune*; it was too sweeping, and could be made to include almost every male member of the Church, as there are but few lay members. The leaders have disclaimed any such intent in sermons on the subject, but it would have been just as easy and much more satisfactory to have changed the wording of the document so as to state specifically what officers were to be subject to the rule.

In Cache Valley, at least, Moses Thatcher will receive full credit for sincerity. Here he is known, and that this was a matter of conscience with him no one will doubt. It seems that special efforts have been made to cast discredit on him here, probably because here he was best known and loved. It was to the Presidency of this Stake that the first letter was issued forbidding them to allow him to preach or officiate in any of the ordinances; and it was here that Joseph F. Smith, contrary to the teachings of the Savior, publicly rebuked Bishop B. M. Lewis for praying for Moses Thatcher during our recent quarterly Conference. The prayer was, one would think, a perfectly proper one from a Church standpoint, as the appeal was that his mind might be enlightened and that he might once more be brought into harmony with his quorum. Mr. Smith assumed that no prayer must be uttered publicly in favor of the erring (?) member. This savored so strongly of a spirit contrary to that of the divine love and compassion that has heretofore been enjoined, that many who had supported the Manifesto and considered Mr. Thatcher's opposition wrong, wondered whether after all, some strong personal feeling did not underlie the pressure brought to bear on him, and began to investigate his reasons for opposing it. If the Senatorship could be left to the popular vote, Moses Thatcher would have an overwhelming majority in Cache county, and the constituents of the members-elect to the State Legislature from this county will expect them to give this sentiment fitting expression. Young Utah has read history and has there seen the awful results of placing unlimited political power in ecclesiastical hands, when the merits of candidates were discussed and their fate settled, not in political conventions, but in priesthood meetings. Those days are gone; but would it not be the same in effect if rival candidates each had to ask the consent of the same Church authority?

Would that they had them been ended! 5/18, '15.

The following partial report of the proceedings of the Conference on Tuesday, October 6th, is quoted from the *Tribune* of the 7th:

As on the day before, Moses Thatcher received the major portion o attention from speakers at yesterday's sessions of the Mormon Church Conference. Apostles John W. Taylor and M. W. Merrill in turn stated their agreement with the majority in the case. In the afternoon President George Q. Cannon discussed the matter at considerable length, though carefully avoiding mention of Apostle Thatcher's name. His tone indicated that he regarded the termination of the matter as settled. He spoke of the unjust condemnation of the priesthood for its course, and told those who had uttered condemnatory words what their duty now is.

President George Q. Cannon then arose. "Our Conference thus far," he began, "has been of exceeding interest to all who have shared in its proceedings. Never have I heard the brethren speak with greater power. I have never felt more edified by the addresses. It is indeed deeply gratifying that such a measure of the spirit and power of God should have thus rested upon President Woodruff and upon President Snow. There is no doubt that the Saints will depart, instructed upon many points, perhaps hitherto hidden from them. Equally there is no doubt that many surmises have been indulged in and possibly unjust remarks made regarding the authorities in some of their actions.

"I am glad that the spirit of God has moved President Woodruff and others to speak on the subject as they have done."

President Cannon explained that while it was the duty of the leaders to take up the matter as they had, still a feeling of delicacy caused them to shrink from making the trouble public. He said that the delay owing to this disinclination to act upon the part of the authorities had resulted in a peculiar condition of affairs arising, which had been further complicated by the introduction of politics. This made the brethren in full knowledge of the trouble less inclined than ever to speak. Their reticence had been misunderstood, their motives misconceived, and themselves held up for condemnation in many instances. All this had resulted from the kindliness, manifested by the failure to make public a brother's error.

"This should be a warning, a solemn warning, to all of you to not be hasty in reaching a conclusion or in the censure or condemnation of any one whom God has placed to preside over you. It is a warning to be careful, for I believe that a great amount of sin has been committed and the spirit of God grieved, causing darkness to many minds because the liberty has been taken, if I may use the word, to condemn without understanding all the circumstances of the case mentioned yesterday."

President Cannon referred to a letter from a president of the Seventies who at one time was prominent in Sunday-school work, in which the writer said the authorities had violated the law of the Church, and as men standing self-convicted they were called upon to repent and make amends. This letter, he said, affords an index of the sentiment that may actuate possibly hundreds.

"Now, God has warned us," he continued, "not to speak evil of the Lord's annointed. Any one who finds fault with them is liable to lose the spirit and go into darkness. The Prophet said that fault-finding was one of the first symptoms of apostacy: God has chosen his servants and claims it as His prerogative to condemn them and censure them. It is not given to us individually to do this. No man, no matter how high in the Church, can speak evil of the Lord's annointed without incurring the displeasure of the Lord and losing the spirit. Then how important it is

not to question or censure the heads of the Church, no matter how difficult it may be to comprehend the reasons for their actions.

"Never since the days of Kirtland has there been such a spirit in the Church to do this error as has been shown during the past few years. We have almost feared to go to some places, owing to the arraignment of our motives and condemnation of our actions. Yesterday's explanations ought to have the effect of making these people, who have been finding fault and condemning unjustly, ashamed of themselves so that they will ask God's forgiveness for having condemned innocent men. People are going to apostatize because of this, if they don't repent."

To the careful reader it will be apparent that the proceedings of the Conference in relation to Moses Thatcher, beginning on Sunday and ending on Tuesday, are guided and inspired by one comprehensive and efficient mind. Mr. Cannon's avowed loyalty to his aged superior, his exaltation of the ostensible Head of the Church to the Vicegenerency under God, his reference to him as the source of plenary authority, his professions of absolute submission for himself and his brother officials—all this was, in the nature of things, deeply suggestive to the venerable President, and next day it bore fruit in the form of harsh accusation in the speech of one whose guilessness and gentleness are light and peace to the Church. There were other speeches and exortations. but they all chimed in harmonously as parts of the orchestral performance inaugurated on Sunday. The master mind had touched the button and a responsive corps of helpers did the rest.

We can only imagine the depth of satisfaction with which the chief designer could take hold of the clearing up process on the third day and thank God that there had been such outpouring of divine grace! And what a magnificent inning to the First Presidency! They had been censured for too great leniency! But see now what mountains there were in the way! See how gallantly we have plucked them up by the roots and cast them into the sea!

But mark you! it was a "*political document*" that caused all this outpouring of zeal and sentiment; it was the refusal of a beloved Apostle *to sign that political document* that caused the heavens to open and the vials of wrath to be poured out; in short, it was a spectacular performance, a shrewdly devised program with sheet lightning and stage thunder in abundance, and all for the purpose of stampeding the faithful Saints into an attitude of recognized encroachment on the political sphere! There were business reasons, too, and these are heaving in ferment like an angry volcano. Over all let us pay honest tribute

to the sincerity and worth of the body of the Saints; their industry and patience are worthy of all praise.

From the remarks of the leading officials quoted above several important conclusions may be drawn, as follows:

1. The priesthood organization as viewed by the First Presidency is the divinely authorized and exclusive channel of communication between God and mankind, the only instrumentality whereby God intends to promote His cause and kingdom in the world.

2. The obligations imposed upon those who hold the higher orders of priesthood require absolute obedience to the First Presidency, not only as to religious and spiritual things but also those that are civil and political.

3. Moses Thatcher's disobedience and insubordination lay in his refusal to submit his civil and political agency to the dictation of his quorum and his superiors in the priesthood.

4. As shown elsewhere in these pages, the First Presidency, the Apostles and the whole Church in conference assembled made solemn pledges to the people of the United States and the people of Utah that the Church should claim no control or authority over civil and political functions, and on these pledges statehood was secured. Hence in refusing to submit his political agency to the dictation of the Church, Moses Thatcher was keeping the plighted faith of the Mormon Church and people.

5. The decisive act of disobedience of Moses Thatcher was his refusal to sign the Manifesto; and for this refusal, as John Henry Smith remarks, he would have been called to account "within three days" had it not been for the condition of his health.

6. The specific form of submission that was required of him in order to his reinstatement in full fellowship with his quorum was to submit absolutely and unreservedly his religious and political agency to the counsel and dictation of his quorum and his superiors in the priesthood. His want of fellowship was not a lack of love, kindness and charity, for he would have given of his means unstintedly to the help of his brethren, and at the "last call" for money to finish the Temple he gave $3500; but this was not what was required; rather was it that he should surrender his political manhood and independence, and to this he could not consent, and thank God he could not and did not!

7. It is not indended in these pages to call in question any of the doctrines of the Mormon faith as a purely religious system; but as to politics and the civil sphere, the church and the

authorities have surrendered control under formal pledge; they have said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's," and they must not seek to dishonor their pledges. Moreover, submission to Church dictation in political affairs is in opposition to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and to the genius of American Institutions.

8. While there is no issue raised in this book against religious doctrines, there is a very clear issue made against that operation of religious doctrines which infringes on the political free-agency of the individual. This opposition is on two grounds: First. It is wrong in itself as an infraction of the inherent civil rights of the citizen. Second. It is in conflict with the pledges of the Church which has solemnly renounced all claim or assumption to control in the civil and political sphere. If Moses Thatcher, in entering the Apostleship, made any pledges or took any vows which compromised his political or civil freedom, he is in duty bound to renounce them, especially since Statehood was secured by relinquishing the right to enforce such vows. But it seems that his offense consisted in his refusal to do what would be a ratification and recognition of such a vow. Such a vow, either in form or effect, would be a crime against the Declaration of Independence.

9. The several speakers of the Conference, in referring to the Manifesto, call it a "political document." It is most eminently a "political document," for it defines and qualifies the political and civil agency of every man that is subjected to its rule. Yet it is claimed *in the name of religion* that such a document should be submitted to! Is not this claim a usurpation of the functions of the State? President Snow censures Moses Thatcher because he did not sign the "political document" on the strength of the twenty-four names already on it, just as he says Erastus Snow endorsed the words of George A. Smith—words spoken while Erastus Snow was asleep—pronouncing them "God's truth," when he never heard a word, and gave his "testimony" on the single ground that he knew George A. Smith was "a man of inspiration and would never say anything untrue." How this process of believing and knowing things to be true because people say they are true, may work in religion, is not a matter of inquiry in this connection; but when it comes to roping in a man's political and civil agency on such grounds, it is a different matter. It is encroachment on the State.

10. John Henry Smith gives away his mental processes in a very open manner. He says that within three days "Moses Thatcher would have been dealt with had it not been for the state of his health" And this for not signing the "political document." And what does Mr. Smith rest his faith on? He says, "I stand by my President and the Presidency of this Church in the position they have taken, *because I know they are right.*" And George Q. Cannon says, "When they (the Twelve Apostles) accept the counsel of the First Presidency, they do it because they believe the First Presidency to be chosen of God. They may have different views on many things; but when the First Presidency gives counsel, every man that has the Spirit of God accepts that counsel." Now all this yielding of individual independence of thought may suffice for religious uses and purposes; but when such machinery is used to enforce conviction and action within the sphere of a man's political agency, such as the signing of a "political document," it is in direct conflict with the spirit and genius of our institutions; it is a matter that demands notice from the world, and every loyal citizen should enter a protest against such methods when carried into politics. Moreover, the First Presidency is recreant to its own pledges when it undertakes to enforce political action through its own alleged inspiration.

CHAPTER THIRD.

MOSES THATCHER DEPOSED.

Subsequent to the October Conference there was a considerable correspondence between Moses Thatcher and Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of Apostles; and as important items appear in the letters, the greater portion of them are herewith presented in the order of their dates. The first letter recites Mr. Thatcher's exclusion from the Temple after having been invited by F. D. Richards to meet with the Apostles therein. The "notice" to which allusion is made is as follows, having appeared in the *News*, October 15th:—

NOTICE.

To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

It having been reported to us that Brother Moses Thatcher has on three different occasions recently addressed congregations of the Saints at Logan, Cache Valley, this, therefore, is to notify you that by action of the Council of First Presidency and Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the name of Moses Thatcher was not presented at the General Conferences of April and October, 1896, to be sustained in his office as an Apostle; and that this action of the authorities suspending him from exercising any of the functions of the Priesthood, that is, from preaching the Gospel or administering in any of the ordinances thereof, until he, by making satisfactory amends to his fellow servants, should be restored to their fellowship and that of the Church.

WILFORD WOODRUFF,
GEORGE Q. CANNON,
JOSEPH F. SMITH;
First Presidency.

THATCHER TO SNOW.

No. 101 N. WEST TEMPLE ST.
SALT LAKE CITY, October 16, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints:

DEAR BRETHREN:—Having in mind the utterances of my file leaders and others at the late semi-annual Conference, respecting myself and the attitude in which I was placed toward the Church of Christ, and those in

authority over me in the holy priesthood, and desiring, if possible, to be in harmony with the quorum over which you preside, and with that of the First Presidency of the Church. I endeavored to meet with you and the brethren at their weekly gathering on Thursday, the 15th inst., but upon appearing at the door of the Temple, was denied admittance.

Later in the day I was furnished by the secretary, George F. Gibbs, a copy of the general "notice" to the Latter-Day Saints, as published in the *Deseret Evening News* of October 15th. That was the first notification received of the intended suspension of the functions of the priesthood held by me. I was aware that my name had not been presented and sustained by the vote of the Saints assembled in Conference on April and October last, but no intimation had been given that such action deprived me of the priesthood or in any way suspended its functions. Had I received an authoritative intimation that such was the intention, or was in any sense thought to be desirable, I would have, if possible, avoided occasion for complaint on that point.

Now, since I am denied the privilege of meeting your quorum for the purpose explained herein, I humbly and respectfully ask you to furnish me in writing, conveying in specific detail the items of all charges of wrong-doing which my brethren may think proper, or feel constrained to bring against me as objections to my further continuance as an Apostle and fellow laborer with them in the cause and Church of the Master, our Savior, to whom I also have dedicated all I have or may hereafter be.

Until the remarks of the brethren delivered at the last General Conference, as they appeared published in the daily press of this city apprised me of it, I did not know that they held aught against me, or premeditated the planting of charges against me on any matter whatever other than that of my failure to indorse the "declaration" issued last April relating to political affairs past and present and future, and possibly complaints also respecting my political attitude as relating to political methods, words and works since the division of the people in Utah on national party lines.

I had understood that my failure to see eye to eye with my brethren on those civil matters, and for not on short notice endorsing the "declaration" caused the withholding of my name from the list of Apostles as presented to the Saints at the April Conference.

The sacred, and as I believed, holy bond of fellowship openly confessed and candidly proclaimed many times—each to the other—during all the years of your presidency over the Twelve Apostles, and the sacred places and loving manner in which that bond of "fellowship" was, as I thought, cemented together at least for all past and present time, if not for eternity, banished from my heart distrust of any kind, and naturally precluded apprehension, fear and thought of such darkness and ambition as that publicly proclaimed as having been the condition in which I had continued for a number of years.

Under the newly-revealed conditions, as stated at Conference, it may be seen how naturally and how easily harmony might fail of its fullest fruition of confidence, hope and trustful love, for how could those in the light harmonize with one in the dark? Or how could one in the dark go to the light when not informed respecting his darkness?

It appears useless at this time, and as a waste of valuable time, for me to ever allude to the love and labor of the past, for those whose esteem

and confidence I have tried hard to merit may well be trusted to remember of that all that is necessary.

For the light and for truth and for justice as defended in the laws of God I have sacrificed some things, and am willing when necessary to sacrifice all things. While greatly improved in health, I am not yet in a physical condition to endure a prolonged or severe strain of body or mind; and, therefore, trust that I shall be given sufficient time in which to answer all charges that may be brought against me. As to anything I have said or done contrary to the commandments of God, I hold myself bound under His law to answer or plead guilty whenever the charges are made specific, and have sufficient time so that the exertion shall not again force me toward the grave, on the verge of which, as you know, I have so long lingered.

My desire is to do right, and to be united with the brethren and those who preside over me, in all that will promote the glory of God and the salvation of man. For, as I comprehend the lessons of history, he who cannot be governed is utterly unfit to attempt government even in the family relation.

Praying the Lord God of Israel to bless you, and expressing heartfelt gratitude to you for the considerate, humble and loving manner in which you have presided over your brethren of the Apostles, and trusting that you are not unwilling that I should still subscribe myself as your brother in the gospel, I remain, as heretofore, devoted to the cause of righteousness—the cause of Christ.

MOSES THATCHER.

SNOW TO THATCHER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, Oct. 23, 1896.

Elder Moses Thatcher, City:

DEAR BROTHER:—Your communication of the 16th inst., was received by me on the 19th, and its contents carefully noted.

Since the writing of your letter the full stenographic report of the remarks of the brethren made at our late General Conference has been published in the *Deseret News*, in which their feelings concerning you are quite fully expressed, and you not having read these published remarks prior to the writing of your communication, I take it for granted that it will not be necessary for me to explain or answer further. With kindest regards, your brother.

LORENZO SNOW.

THATCHER TO SNOW.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, Nov. 4, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles:

DEAR BROTHER:—While at Logan last week I learned through a letter that Elder Franklin D. Richards had called at my home for the purpose of informing me that yourself and the Quorum of Apostles desired to meet me, and thought arrangements could be made to meet in the annex of the Temple if I could name a date when I could be present. Appreciating this kindness and desiring very much to meet again with my brethren that they might know the inmost feelings of my heart by personal contact with the spirit that possesses me, I at once sent word desiring that you

would name the time and place of meeting, so as to conform to your own and the convenience of the brethren, rather than to that of my own. It was my intention to go north from Logan to see my brother, who resides in Idaho, but on receiving no word as to when I could meet with you, I returned to this city Thursday—a week ago tomorrow—and have daily expected to hear respecting a time when I could see the brethren once more together. No word having reached me respecting that matter, I adopt this means of respectfully asking you when such meeting can be arranged. As early a reply as convenient will greatly oblige. Your brother in the gospel.

MOSES THATCHER.

That delays may be avoided, I send this by Elder C. W. Penrose, who has kindly consented to deliver it promptly to you. M. T.

SNOW TO THATCHER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, November 6, 1896.

Elder Moses Thatcher:—

DEAR BROTHER:—Your letter of the 4th instant received. In it you state that you learned last week at Logan, through letter, that Brother Franklin D. Richards had called at your home for the purpose of informing you that myself and the Quorum of Apostles desired to meet you in the annex of the Temple, also intimating that it is our desire that you name a date when you could be present. I wish to correct this impression, the Quorum, as such, not having expressed themselves in regard to this matter. Doubtless the misunderstanding arose from the fact that some time ago an appointment was made to meet with you in the Temple annex, which appointment was not kept owing to your physical inability to do so, as we learned verbally through Brother John Henry Smith. But since then the Council of First Presidency and Apostles felt it to be due to the late General Conference that something should be said by way of explanation for withholding the presentation of your name to be sustained by the Conference as one of the general authorities of the Church, which resulted in the remarks of the brethren on this subject as published in full in the *News*. Since then, also, a card has been published over the signatures of the First Presidency, informing the officers and members of the Church that the withholding of your name from going before the last two Conferences suspended you from exercising the functions of your priesthood, the publication of this card having been made necessary, contrary to our expectations, by your addressing public congregations of the Saints in your suspended condition. Since then, too, I sent you the following, under date of 23rd ult.:—(See above.)

I may say that the foregoing was in response to your communication in which you desired that whatever charges your brethren might think proper to make against you, that the same be specifically made in writing, etc. In penning the foregoing I hoped that further correspondence would not be indulged in by you, but that just as soon as you fully realized your true position you would not rest until you had conferred with me personally in regard to arranging for an interview with your Quorum for the purpose of regaining your fellowship. I repeat, I hoped your feelings would have prompted you to do this, and I felt warranted in

believing that your wisdom would have led you to do it; but in this I was disappointed, and so were your brethren one and all.

This being the condition of affairs, you were not admitted to the Temple on the forenoon of Thursday, 15th ult.; for the further reason, also, that the meeting of that day was not a meeting of our quorum, but the regular Council meeting of the First Presidency and Apostles, at which business of pressing importance was to be attended to, which could not be deferred for consideration of your suspension.

In accordance with your wishes for a meeting, I take pleasure in appointing 2 o'clock on Thursday next at the Historian's office, upon which occasion the Quorum will be pleased to meet with you. With kindest regards, your brother and fellow servant.

LORENZO SNOW.

The following letter presents a general review of all the facts and circumstances leading up to and terminating in Mr. Thatcher's deposition from the Priesthood :

THATCHER TO SNOW.

LOGAN, CACHE COUNTY, UTAH, November 11, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and Members of the Quorum:—

DEAR BRETHREN:—By way of preface to a request I am about to make of you, my brethren, I humbly ask your attention while I review, briefly, the reasons which lead me to make it.

My name was regularly presented to the people and I was regularly sustained in my position in the Church until the 6th day of April, 1896. On that day at noon, and never before, a document was presented to me for my signature. I was then confined to my room with what I considered at that time a fatal illness. I was given about an hour and thirty minutes within which to consider a matter of vital importance, not only to myself, but, in my opinion, to the people. I could not see my way clear to sign it without stultification, and I so informed you by letter. In about two hours from that time my name was unceremoniously dropped from the list of Apostles presented to the Conference for confirmation. No reason for your action was given, and my letter of explanation was, for reasons best known to yourselves, supressed.

Matters went on in this way, until a day or so before the funeral of our lamented brother, Abraham H. Cannon, I called upon President Woodruff and told him I desired to be relieved of all responsibility for awhile in order to regain my health and strength. He acquiesced. Subsequently, I was informed by Brother C. W. Penrose that the brethren were willing for me to lay aside all care and go away if I desired, and that nothing further would be done concerning my standing until I should be fully restored to health, if it took six months, a year or even two years. And these representations of Brother Penrose have since been confirmed by several members of our quorum.

I then went to Logan canyon, where I remained about six weeks. While there rumors began to circulate that my case would be taken up, notwithstanding the promises which had been given me. These rumors

did not reach me at the time, but they reached my son, Moses Thatcher, Jr., who at once went to the city, where he called at President Woodruff's office in company with his brother Preston and Bishop W. B. Preston. While waiting for an opportunity to see President Woodruff, Brother Brigham Young entered and to him my son told the object of his visit. Then Brother Young went into the President's office. After awhile President Snow, Apostles Richards, Young and Smith, Bishop Preston and others came out from President Woodruff's office and assured my son that they had delivered his message to President Woodruff, and that he and all the brethren present had unanimously decided that nothing whatever would be done in my matter until I felt mentally and physically able to meet with the brethren. President Snow bade my son to convey to me that message, which he did by returning home and driving to my camp thirty miles up Logan canyon. When President Woodruff at that meeting was reminded of his former promise to me, he said that he had not seen me, and that I had not called on him for many months. Bishop Preston reminded him of my visit a day or so before Brother Abraham H. Cannon's funeral, and of our conversation at the time, whereupon he recalled the circumstance and then said that he remembered distinctly what had transpired on that occasion.

Had it not been for the assurances and reassurances given me I would have attended the Conference before which, in my absence, I was publicly accused.

Upon my return to Logan from the canyon I was dumfounded on reading and hearing reports of the treatment I had received at Conference. Feeling, however, that there might be some reason unknown to me for your apparent change of mind, I went to Salt Lake on purpose to ascertain the truth, if possible. On my way to the office of President Woodruff, Wednesday, October 14th, I met Brother Franklin D. Richards. I told him that I expected to meet with my Quorum at their regular meeting on the following day. He replied that they would be delighted to have me. I asked if there could be any objection to it. He assured me that there would not be, and that he could vote for it with both hands.

Accordingly, I went to the Temple next day at the regular hour, and was informed that the Presidency of the church had given orders not to admit me into the Temple. I was surprised and grieved, but one thought consoled me, and that was that during the last six months of the construction of the Temple, now closed against me, I had given $3500 toward its completion, and if I had it to do over again I would give even more. No reason was given for refusing me admittance; no explanation was offered, not even by the one who had assured me of a welcome with both hands.

I went home distressed and with such a flood of sorrow in my heart compared with which the pain and sufferings of five years were like a drop to the ocean. I asked God for light and wisdom; I searched the innermost depths of my soul; I reviewed my whole life and my record in the Church to find some excuse for the action taken, but in vain. As it seemed I was cut off from communication with you in every other way, I wrote to the president of my Quorum asking what my brethren had against me, pleading humbly and respectfully for the charges, specifically stated, that I might have a chance to prove my innocence or plead guilty.

Before I heard from you I had gone to Logan with the intention of visiting my brother, who resides in Idaho. While in Logan word reached

me that Brother Franklin D. Richards had called at my home in Salt Lake City to see me. He left word that my Quorum desired me to meet with them, and thought such meeting might be arranged in the Temple annex if I would name the day when I could be present. I immediately sent word to him that I did not desire to set the time, but would leave the time and place of meeting with the Quorum, desiring to conform to their convenience.

Not hearing anything further about the matter, I returned to Salt Lake, where I waited several days and wrote you again, meantime receiving the following answer to my request for specific charges.—(See above October 23d.)

This communication changed the face of the whole matter, because in it I am cited to the public press to read the accusations made against me in public meetings before the Saints in General Conference assembled and before the world. I am told to go to a newspaper and there read what my brethren have said about me and against me, and to these public utterances published to all mankind I am to make my answer.

But, owing to the word sent me by Brother F. D. Richards, I still thought you might possibly have other communications to make, outside of the published declarations to which you referred me in your letter of October 23rd, and being in the city in response to that request, I therefore wrote you on the 4th of November asking for information as to when that meeting would be called.

In reply I received a letter from you, President Snow, dated November 6, 1896, in which you repeat in full your letter of October 23rd, thus indicating that the public declarations made in Conference covered all the charges against me. You say further that you had hoped that I would write no more after receiving your letter of October 23rd, and that I should have lost no time in seeking you personally after receiving that letter, and that you, one and all, were disappointed at my lack of wisdom after receiving that letter, and that therefore the Temple was closed against me on the 15th day of October. Believe me, it is hard to understand how any supposed disregard of a letter written October 23rd should cause the Temple to be closed against me on the 15th of the same month, or eight days before. Be that as it may, I desire to make a simple request of you, to which, I am sure, your sense of justice and honor will acquiesce. It is this: As I was accused in public I desire to meet the charges in public. Although the judges before whom I am to be arraigned have nearly all expressed an opinion as to the merits of my case; although my accusers are to sit in judgment over me; although a verdict has already been delivered against me and without a hearing, and in the most public manner; still will I be willing to submit my case to them, to place in their keeping, not only my life, but that which is dearer to me than life—only asking for the defense the same publicity which has been given the prosecution.

It has been written: "If any shall offend in secret he shall be rebuked in secret," but I have been rebuked in public, and therefore ask a hearing in public. I am moved to make this request, not only because my brethren have, one after another, accused me before congregations of Saints, nor because the door of the Temple has been closed in my face, nor because Brother Joseph F. Smith in the last Logan Conference classed me as one of the enemies of the Church and publicly reprimanded my former bishop for mentioning me in his prayers; but also because, in a conversa-

tion with President Lorenzo Snow, on the train between Salt Lake and Brigham City last Saturday, November 7th, I was given the impression that I have absolutely nothing to hope for in any other than a public hearing such as I now request. I shall not trouble my brethren, therefore, to convene in a special meeting named for Thursday at 2 o'clock p. m. in the Historian's office.

In conclusion, brethren, I desire to say that nothing could shake my faith in the everlasting Gospel. All the trials and afflictions through which I have passed leave me firm in my belief. I am devoted to my Church, my people and my God. I have willingly made every sacrifice required of me. I have given freely of my time and means to the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God. I have never shirked a responsibility placed upon me. If I have done wrong it is because I am mortal, but I bear no consciousness of wrongful intent. If I have not been in harmony with my brethren of the Quorum of the Twelve on religious matters I was not aware of it till their public declarations to that effect. Have not frequent authoritative declarations been made in public during the last few years as to the perfect harmony existing between all the members of the Quorum and the First Presidency? With those made so often in sacred places you are familiar. It is very hard to understand why, in the face of these, the public should now be informed that we have not been in harmony for years.

Brethren, this matter may seem trivial to you, for in your hands is placed the judgment, while I stand in the position of a victim. Misapprehension as to the motives prompting my action during all the years of my official life may be the result of misinformation; and prejudice, once aroused, increases, as you know, like an avalanche. If there is aught in word or act of mine since I have been a member of the Church that I would not have published upon the housetops, I do not know it; and yet I am aware that any man is liable to become darkened in his mind, who, nevertheless, may still desire to do right and be just in all things. Therefore, I beseech you, that mercy have its claims, then award to justice, under the laws of God, all its demands; remembering always that it is a serious matter to judge even in small concerns, but it becomes of great magnitude when involving that which is more precious than life.

Your brother and fellow-laborer,

MOSES THATCHER.

SNOW TO THATCHER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, Nov. 12, 1896.

Elder Moses Thatcher, Logan:

DEAR BROTHER:—This is to notify you that at a meeting of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles held to-day, it was resolved that as you are not in fellowship with the Council, your case will be called up for consideration and action at a meeting to be held for that purpose at 10 a. m. on Thursday, the 19th inst., at the Historian's office, this city.

With kind regards, your brother,

LORENZO SNOW.

THATCHER TO SNOW.

101 N. West Temple Street,
Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 17, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles:

Dear Brother:—On the 11th inst. I wrote you a somewhat lengthy letter in which, after reviewing my case, I asked that the same publicity be given my defense as that given to the complaints and accusations made against me.

My son, George F. Thatcher, delivered to you that communication about 10 o'clock a. m., the following day. At noon on the 13th inst., Brother Isaac Smith of the Cache Stake Presidency handed me a letter from you, of which the following is a copy. (See above, Nov. 12.)

As no reference is made to my communication of the 11th inst. in yours of the 12th, I am in doubt as to whether the latter was intended to be a reply to the former or not; but as no other word has reached me I suppose I should so regard it, especially in view of the fact that the action of the Apostles respecting my case was evidently taken after the delivery to you of my letter of the 11th inst.

You say: "Your case will be called up for consideration and action at a meeting to be held for that purpose at 10 a. m., on Thursday, the 19th inst." Am I warranted in concluding that you intended that declaration to be a denial of my request for a public hearing? And, if so, am I to understand that "consideration" and "action" mean that my trial will commence on the date and at the time and place mentioned? If that is the intention, am I, as heretofore directed by you, to defend myself against or plead to the charges as published in the *Deseret Evening News* of October 17th? And, if so, will the charges be presented one at a time, or considered as a whole? In either event, will those making the charges be present to hear my witnesses? Will I be permitted to bring with me and introduce the testimony of those willing to testify in my behalf? Is the "Manifesto" regarding Church discipline in political affairs and for the failure to sign which, it was understood at the time, I was suspended from exercising the functions of the Apostleship, to be introduced as any part of the charges against me?

As I will have to call witnesses from various points, I shall greatly appreciate as early a reply as possible.

Very respectfully your brother in the Gospel,
Moses Thatcher.

SNOW TO THATCHER.

November 18, 1896.

Elder Moses Thatcher, City:

Dear Brother:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th inst., in which you advise me of the receipt by you of a communication signed by myself in behalf of the Quorum of Twelve, and dated November 12. You ask whether my letter was intended to be a reply to a former communication which you sent to me, in which you had requested a public hearing. You also ask, if this be so, are you to understand that "consideration" and "action" mean that your trial will commence on the day and at the time and place mentioned; and further, if that is the intention, are you to

defend yourself or plead to the charges as published in the *Deseret Evening News* of October 17th, and, if so, will the charges be presented one at a time or considered as a whole; also, in either event, will those making the charges be present to hear your witnesses, and will you be permitted to bring with you and introduce the testimonies of those willing to testify in your behalf. You further ask whether the document regarding Church discipline which you failed to sign will be introduced as any part of the charges against you.

In reply to these queries, I have to say that the Quorum of the Apostles do not consider your request for public hearing a proper one—for this reason: It is not your standing in the Church that is at issue, but your fellowship with the brethren of your own Quorum. This is the business to be settled between yourself and us, and when this is settled satisfactorily there will be no difficulty remaining concerning the document on Church discipline. You have been informed on several occasions that the members of your Quorum could not fellowship your spirit and conduct. Several of them have waited upon you and informed you that the Twelve felt that you should make amends and take proper steps to restore yourself to their fellowship. This, therefore, is not a matter for the general public, nor for the presence of witnesses. You yourself are the principal party interested, and if you can take the necessary steps—which are altogether within your own power—there need not be the least difficulty about you having the fellowship of your fellow Apostles. This has always been the course taken in our Church from the beginning to the present time. If the question of your fellowship with the Church should be brought forward at any time, it will then be for the Church to give you such a hearing as will enable its members to express themselves as to whether they will hold you in fellowship or not.

With kind regards, your Brother,

LORENZO SNOW.

THATCHER TO SNOW.

No. 101 N. WEST TEMPLE ST.,
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, November 18, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of Twelve:

DEAR BROTHER:—Your esteemed favor of even date, replying to my letter of yesterday, was handed me this evening and its contents have been carefully considered. As there is to be no trial of my case, and as I am not requested to be present, I take it to be the purpose, as heretofore notified, that the quorum meet on the morrow for the purpose of considering my case and determining what I must do before I can again enjoy the fellowship of my brethren of the Twelve Apostles.

Beyond the public action taken at the annual Conference on the 6th of April last, which suspended me within a few hours after my failure to sign the document regarding Church discipline on political matters, and your citations to the remarks of the brethren as published in the *Deseret News* of October 17th about me, I know of nothing upon which to found requirements in my case; and since judgment in those matters has been already passed, the necessity for presenting, through witnesses or otherwise, any defense in my behalf seems obviated. I can, therefore, only wait with great concern and deep anxiety your findings and specifying the con-

ditions upon which I may regain the fellowship of my brethren and restoration to the official position heretofore held in the Church, and the duties and obligations of which I have sought earnestly, honestly and prayerfully to discharge. The thought of the permanent loss of that exalted position and of your fellowship, and of the consequent humiliation and bitterness that may follow, are very dreadful—I shrink from the contemplation. It seems a sad ending—a fruitless reward for thirty years or more of earnest and devoted work in a cause that has inspired and does still inspire the best efforts of a life subject, of course to human weaknesses and human errors, but nevertheless devoted and true. I cannot—brethren I utterly fail to feel that I deserve the fate that now seems hanging over me! Pardon. I did not intend to plead my cause. Only let me remind you, brethren, of how the Lord has required us to use the priesthood—persuasion, gentleness, brotherly kindness, patience, love. This in the interest of mercy. Try each of you to place or imagine yourself placed in my position. Remember if you can, that there is none of you—no, not one, for whose peace and happiness I would not give all I have, and for the preservation of whose liberties and rights I would not, if necessary, sacrifice even my life. As proof, if you require proof, I refer you to records of the past. So, as you would be judged, judge me. Then submit that judgment, give me reasonable time to consider it, and if I can harmonize my conscience and convictions respecting justice, truth and honor with your findings and requirements, I shall do so gladly and with a heart full of grateful acknowledgments to Him whose servants we have all been glad to be.

Praying the Lord to direct your minds in all things and uphold and sustain you now and hereafter, I remain, your fellow laborer in the gospel.

MOSES THATCHER.

In answer to that appeal the following curt notice was sent:

SNOW TO THATCHER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, November 19, 1896.

Hon. Moses Thatcher, City:

DEAR BROTHER:—It becomes my painful duty as the President of the Twelve Apostles to inform you that, at a meeting of that body, held to-day, November 19, 1896, at which all the living members of the Council, excepting yourself, were present, it was decided, after a full consideration and individual expression of every one present, to sever you from the Council of the Twelve Apostles, and deprive you of your Apostleship and other offices in the priesthood. I remain, your brother,

LORENZO SNOW.

The following notice appeared in the evening of the same day in the *Deseret News:*

To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints:

This is to inform you that at a meeting of the Council of Apostles held this day (Thursday, November 19, 1896), there being present Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, Brigham Young, Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, Heber J. Grant, John W. Taylor, Marriner

W. Merrill and Anthon H. Lund, which meeting was called for the purpose of considering and taking action on the case of Elder Moses Thatcher—and of which meeting and its object he had been duly notified—after a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case, and after each Apostle present had expressed himself upon the subject, it was unanimously decided that Moses Thatcher be severed from the Council of the Twelve Apostles, and that he be deprived of his Apostleship and other offices in the Priesthood.

LORENZO SNOW,
President Council of Twelve Apostles.

REMARKS.

We see that Mr. Thatcher was denied a public trial, although he sought diligently to have the charges specifically set out and passed on at a public hearing; and this was clearly his right as an American citizen, and particularly because he had been by a concerted action among certain leaders accused in open Conference. Public sentiment, to which the speakers of the Conference appealed, should unite with the broader sentiment of honest men throughout the world in condemnation of a star chamber procedure that persistently refuses to make a defense as public as the accusations. It shows unmistakable indications of narrowness, prejudice and injustice.

President Snow says in his letter of November 18th, of the offense for which it was sought to try Moses Thatcher, "it is not a matter for the general public, nor for the presence of witnesses. You yourself are the principal party interested, and if you can take the necessary steps—which are altogether within your own power—there need not be the least difficulty about having the fellowship of your fellow Apostles." He says in the same connection, "the members of your quorum could not fellowship your spirit and conduct." "It is not your standing in the Church that is at issue, but your fellowship with the brethren of your quorum." Hence, there was no offense charged that concerned the public; there was no misdemeanor, no infraction of the moral or civil law, no personal wrong against any brother or sister; it was not anything that required witnesses to make accusation or vindication.

What was it then that was required of Moses Thatcher? It was simply submission and self-abnegation, a renunciation of selfhood to the control of his quorum and those in higher authority. He had declined to endorse the Manifesto. He had

formerly endorsed a rule that prohibited the leading officials from participating in political affairs as partisan leaders. He believed that restriction was proper and right under the circumstances. But when the First Presidency concluded to rescind that rule and "counselled" that some should go out and speak and organize for a certain party while others should, because they favored an opposite party, hold their peace, under these circumstances Moses Thatcher refused to be controlled by a "counsel" which he knew to be morally wrong in itself, as also in conflict with pledges which the chief authorities were at that time making to the people of Utah and the United States in order to secure statehood. It was in such matters and under such conditions that Moses Thatcher refused to be made a subservient tool in the hands of certain of his quorum and ecclesiastical superiors to carry out a nefarious policy of religious tyranny and political infamy.

In all this, according to President Snow, he showed a "rebellious spirit." For such conduct he is called "rebellious and worldly minded." Hence, what he was now required to do was that he should go to his quorum and make a full renunciation of his rights and manhood as an American citizen. He must renounce the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence; he must eschew the freedom and equality that constitute our birthright of civil liberty. And all this he must do, notwithstanding the solemn pledges of the Mormon Church and authorities that no man's civil and political agency should be compromised or infringed by priestly authority. Not only this, he must also fly in the face of the Constitution of the United States, and the very expressive clause which he himself caused to be inserted in the Constitution of the State of Utah—a clause pronouncing most emphatically and unambiguously in behalf of a complete separation of church and state, as follows:

Section 4. The rights of conscience shall never be infringed. The State shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust or for any vote at any election; nor shall any person be incompetent as a witness or juror on account of religious belief or the absence thereof. There shall be no union of church and state, nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its functions. No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or for the support of any ecclesiastical establishment. No property qualification shall be required of any person to vote, or hold office, except as provided in this Constitution.

Such personal renunciation and self subjection as was required of Moses Thatcher by the president of his quorum, is nothing new in the history of religious societies. Every Jesuit is under such vows; almost all monastic organizations require such a surrender; but they are all wrong; they are all inimical to liberty, and the genius of American citizenship is utterly hostile to such abnormal religious serfdom. No difference what church ordains such ordinances, they are all opposed to the true spirit of progress, and the Mormon Chuch has already solemnly pledged itself against them.

We see in the procedure in the case of Moses Thatcher the course to be pursued in all similar cases of discipline for infraction of the rule of "counsel" promulgated in the Manifesto. If an officer in the Mormon Church refuses to "counsel" in regard to a nomination to a political office, his refusal will be a "breach of fellowship" with his quorum. He will be called upon to "humble himself," to renounce his "ambitions," to abdicate his political independence. If he "submits" to a satisfactory degree, that submission restores his fellowship on the basis of an emasculated manhood and civil agency; the offense is now wiped out; he is henceforth redeemed from the infection of Jeffersonian Democracy; he is absorbed into the general control of "counsel" which says to one man "come," and he cometh; to another it says "go," and he goeth.

Note that Moses Thatcher was not to be tried for his refusal to sign the "political document," although, as one Apostle says, "he should have been called to account within three days for that refusal, except for his poor health at the time." No, there would be no public trial for such an offense. The idea is preposterous! The political sagacity that rules in high councils is not going to give away its cause in that unsophisticated manner, for it would raise an unsurmountable protest in the minds of the public.

But while there would be no trial for the specific offense of refusing to sign the "political document," the "submission" that was required would be such that no other refusal would ever occur, for the man's spirit would be subdued and moulded into complete ecclesiastical serfdom.

But why not have a public trial, if the rule is right in the sight of God and man? Why not that which is spoken in the ear proclaim from the housetops? Alas, the ways of "counsel" are not so! If the rule is maintained and rigidly enforced, so far as the Mormon people are concerned, there is an end of Jef-

fersonian Democracy in Utah! As well could light subsist with darkness, freedom with bondage, as that "counsel" should dictate the nominations to political and civil offices, and not destroy the independence and individuality that are the life and inspiration of Jeffersonian Democracy and true Republicanism.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

If Moses Thatcher is right in his dissent, as it is confidently believed these pages will demonstrate, the future history of Utah will rank him as one of her greatest benefactors. For, if he is right, his truth will prevail over error in the minds of the people and be the means of escape from untold tribulations. Throughout nearly half a century Utah has been a storm center within the American Republic. Beneath all the ostensible causes of disturbance, such as polygamy was made to be in the estimation of the masses, in the minds of the real statesmen of the country, those who have always shaped its policy, there was one menace—and only one in fact—the tendency of some of the Mormon leaders to lay hands on the functions of the government and subvert the state by a theocratic regime that strikes at the very life of our free institutions.

If such fears are confirmed in the development of Utah politics—if the offices of the State shall become subordinated to the dictation of the Church—if the will of the people and the government of the people shall become tributary to the will and the counsels of a priestly junta—if the Declaration of Independence shall be made null and void by a religious priesthood, slowly but surely a cloud will gather in the sky of American patriotism, Utah's representatives in Congress will be discredited, her population will be divided into hostile bands, the power of a hundred millions of people will frown in defiance of an attempt to subvert the Republic, and in the end there will be violence and loss of life; the whole State will be storm swept; every vestige of offense will be swept away.

It will be shown in this discussion that the rule of discipline in question is in substantial conflict with pledges and

guarantees made by the Mormon Church and the leading officials thereof to the people of the United States—pledges made in behalf of full and complete civil liberty, individual freedom and the entire separation of Church and State. Indeed, the following pages will render it difficult to apprehend how any faithful adherent to the rule can at once with a clear conscience and ordinary intelligence, claim, in either letter or spirit, to fulfill the pledges thus made.

The gist of the rule sought to be enforced is that every member of the Church, and particularly every "leading official," shall first take "counsel" and be authorized by the "proper authorities" in the Church in order to render service in the State. No officer or member can even "accept a nomination" to office in the State without first seeking "counsel" in the way of authorization. In short, the rule means, in effect, that the State shall subsist in and through the "counsel" of the Church.

It is not unreasonable for the people to demand of Moses Thatcher that he show good and sufficient reasons for nonconformity to the regulations of his Church; for a church has a recognized right to prescribe a system of rules and regulations for the guidance of its members, and no communicant has it within his own discretion to dissent from such rules, unless he can show ample grounds for non-compliance. In response to this demand Moses Thatcher is presented in the following pages as resting upon the most important and substantial reasons for his conduct as indicated in the following propositions:

1. The rule in both letter and spirit conflicts with the political faith of Moses Thatcher, as shown from his conduct, sermons, speeches and writings during previous years. Extracts will be presented sufficient to show that he could not, without self-stultification, endorse a rule whose meaning and effect he would, from his long experience in the Church, know to be inimical to liberty and destructive of the State.

2. The rule will be shown to be in conflict with the sacred pledges of the Church assembled in general Conference, and of high Church officials, these pledges having been made in order to encourage a proposed division on national party lines and to promote statehood for Utah. Some of these pledges will be presented in these pages to show that the Church and leading authorities entered into solemn covenant with the people of Utah and of the United States. And inasmuch as the people of the whole country accepted such pledges and ratified them in good faith, it is implied that the covenants thus made are

expressed in terms conveying the common and accepted meaning that the people naturally and necessarily attach to words thus used to beget confidence and co-operation. There can be no toleration of a double sense of language, no allowance shown to mental reservation. All must be clean and open in the full sense of frankness and manly integrity.

3. It will be shown that the rule is in conflict with the independence and freedom of the State, and that it tends to absorb the State into the Church and make it the mere function and agent of a priestly junta. The rule is in conflict with the Constitution of Utah, the Declaration of Independence and the genius and spirit of American institutions.

4. The questions herein discussed are eminently adapted to awaken and educate the minds of the people in the principles of liberty and the spirit of American institutions. These are problems of sovereignty and statehood. They could not arise among other than a people seeking to be free and self-governing, and we venture to say that this discussion will deepen and quicken our sense of their sacredness and significance.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

MOSES THATCHER ON CHURCH AND STATE.

In discussing the political pledges made by the Mormon Church and authorities, it is important to begin with Moses Thatcher; for during many years past his convictions in relation to church and state have been in accord with those of the most democratic of American statesmen. Throughout active manhood he has understood and cherished the inspirations of liberty and equality out of which originate government by and for the people.

A further reason for giving prominence to his opinions on church and state is that at the beginning of the "division movement" his attitude was a subject of discussion, and his unambiguous utterances in behalf of American principles had a tendency to quiet and reassure those who had fears as to the wisdom of promoting statehood for Utah. It was not known until long afterwards that Moses Thatcher was by some of his brethren considered too direct in his utterances. It now appears that he was severely reprimanded for the democracy of his politics; and at the Logan high council meeting he was the subject of bitter censure by Joseph F. Smith for his Ogden Opera House speech, delivered May 14, 1892. Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith made a caustic reply soon afterwards but it seems that Joseph F. Smith was not satisfied; he desired to reinforce his arguments with ecclesiastical torture; and it is due to Mr. Thatcher to say that the unrelenting vindictiveness with which he has been pursued is due to the ire of certain priestly leaders who feel chagrinned because of his refusal to be a party with them in carrying out political machinations that betray and violate the plighted faith of the Mormon Church and authorities.

And Mr. Joseph F. Smith must remember that the utterances of Moses Thatcher which he now condemns were at the time greatly instrumental in procuring statehood and in building up the party of Jefferson in Utah. Had it been known at the time that Moses Thatcher was an offending member of the

Mormon Church, and that he was imperiling his official standing for his outspoken Americanism, there would have been no statehood for Utah so long as it was manifest that in the hearts of certain Mormon leaders there existed such rancorous hostility to the principles of civil liberty. But as Mr. Thatcher's opinions were scattered broadcast among the people, inducing many to favor statehood who would not otherwise have done so; and as his utterances were not repudiated by any public action of the chief Church authorities, but left rather to contribute to the formation of statehood sentiment, under such a state of facts we are compelled to classify his declarations among those that bind the Mormon Church to a complete separation of Church and State.

A very telling little address was delivered by Moses Thatcher at the Salt Lake Theatre, July 30, 1891, and was briefly reported by the *Herald* as follows:

> The Democrats held a rousing meeting at the Salt Lake Theatre last evening.
>
> Hon. Moses Thatcher was there as a listener. While the meeting was being adjourned the vast audience demanded that he speak.
>
> Mr. Dyer stepped forward to say that the meeting was at an end, but cries for Moses Thatcher resounded from all parts of the house, and Mr. Thatcher finally stepped to the front and said: "For reasons which I think sufficient I have taken no active part in this campaign—not because I was not in sympathy with the grand old Democratic party, but because there are many people in Utah throughout the length and breadth of the land, who believe the Church dominates the state in Utah. Because of the ecclesiastical position which I occupy I desire to say no word in this campaign, but look to these gentlemen for the educating of the people. A great hero of many battles who had shot and shell tear up the ground at his feet, and who had seen the blood of those who wore the blue and the gray flow in streams, said to Lee when the latter surrendered and handed him his sword, 'No, general, not a horse or a mule. You will need them all for your spring plowing.' It is a glorious thing to be magnanimous. You may look on that picture and then turn and look on this. The Mormon people are sincere. (Tremendous applause.)
>
> "We trust the Gentile Democrats and Mormon Democrats alike, because they cannot go back on their promises without stultification. Stultification is dishonor, and to us dishonor is worse than death. (Prolonged applause.) I am opposed to a union of church and state and always have been. (Applause.) It cannot exist under the American system of government. (Applause.) We have never been understood, but thank God we will be."

This speech means that as General Grant was magnanimous in that he was generous, having all power in his hands, so also the Mormon people are greatly in the majority, but they also are magnanimous, for they do not desire to rely upon numbers,

but upon principles. They do not believe in the union of church and state, and the people can confide in their faithfulness to the American system of government.

In a sermon preached at Logan in April, 1892, on the "Evils Resulting from the Union of Church and State," Mr. Thatcher gave an exhaustive review of the whole subject as shown up in sacred and secular history. He traced the sacred records down to the time of Christ, when he commanded that the people "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." He took up the union of church and state effected in European countries and the action of the people who fled to America for freedom.

"Then came the struggle for nationality," he continued, "that finally found voice in the Declaration of Independence demanding advanced human rights as outlined in the Constitution, an instrument inspired of God. Its writers, profiting by the experience of the past, made religious liberty its chief cornerstone, but avoided a union of church and state. Without violation of that sacred charter of human rights Congress can pass no law respecting the establishment of religion or preventing the free exercise thereof. To that guarantee ofthe Constitution we owe our existence as a church."

Probably as clear and concise a statement as will be found of Mr. Thatcher's position is given in his letter to the Reconvened Convention, which met at Salt Lake, October 22, 1895, the following report being from the Salt Lake *Herald:*

LOGAN, UTAH, October 21, 1895.

Hon. O. W. Powers, Chairman Democratic Territorial Committee, and Members of the Re-Convened Convention:

GENTLEMEN—Owing to the unsatisfactory condition of my health, which renders it impossible for me to be with you, I adopt this means of conveying to your honorable body a statement of my position on questions arising from the very serious crisis which, without volition of the Democratic party, now confronts us; and in the proper and permanent solution of which, as I view it, is involved the honor, peace, prosperity and liberty of Utah's inhabitants. (Applause.)

As heretofore, when treating on political issues, I have sought to be candid and straightforward in word and act, and the conditions now confronting us, as well as my honor and that of the party of which I am a member, demand that I should continue along those lines, leaving nothing of a doubtful nature, upon which to found an argument as to my position, either by friends or by political opponents. (Hearty applause.)

My connection with the matters relating to the present grave crisis would appear to warrant a brief statement of my political acts since the division of the citizens of Utah on national and local political questions.

At the outset, I was strongly impressed with the idea that it would be better for the ecclesiastical officers of the dominant religious society in Utah, as well as in the interest and welfare of the people, for prominent Church officials, including the members of the First Presidency, the Twelve Apostles and the presidents of the Quorum of Seventies, not to involve themselves in active partisan politics, believing that their influence should be brought to bear against the acrimonious jealousies likely to arise in a contest over questions in which the masses of the people were not then well informed. In other words, that these high ecclesiastical authorities might be called upon to pour oil on the politically disturbed waters of our fair Territory, a task which I then and now believe can be successfully performed by those only who had not become partisan in their political preferences, and I believe that action in harmony with those ideas was, about that time, taken, but was shortly thereafter, as I remember. ignored, and that, as the record. I think, will show, not by members of the Democratic party, but by their Republican political opponents.

* * * * I need waste none of the time of this reconvened convention, in an argument respecting the political struggles in this Territory during the past three years; nor need I add anything on the question of Church influence being directly or indirectly to the injury of one party and correspondingly to the benefit of another, because that question has been fully discussed during the period to which I allude.

From the beginning, in nearly all, if not all, of my political addresses and private conversations I have uniformly sought to impress upon the minds of the people the absolute separation of church and state; holding that the civil obligations of the citizen should in no degree trammel the exercise of a man's religious obligations, nor, on the other hand, should the exercise of his religious duties interfere with his obligations to the state and nation whose citizen he was; maintaining always that there were no presidents, apostles nor other church officials, as such, in politics, and that the freedom of the citizen in these matters was not the gift of any man or combinations of men, but a bequest from the fathers who, for the benefit of themselves, their posterity and future generations, placed their honor, their fortunes and their lives upon the altar of human liberty.
* * * *

Many Democrats, if not the majority in Utah, have been made to feel that they were, more or less, under a religious ban, and have had to endure the slurs, if not the direct insults tauntingly and sneeringly put upon them by men who had espoused other political doctrines, and many have endured insinuations as to their religious integrity, and that which recently occured in the priesthood meeting was a natural sequence of causes leading up to that culmination.

Personally, I have no complaint to make because of what then and there happened, in the allusions made to myself, because, as I view it, the individual peace, happiness, integrity and reputation of one man, or a score of men, cuts but little figure in matters of great consequence to the people of Utah, like that which now confronts us, but I may be permitted to say in passing that nothing in the acts or words of myself would warrant any person in the church in the belief that I would not, upon proper occasion, show, as I have always done, the respect due my ecclesiastical superiors, and that without in the least degree doing a wrong or in any way affecting the honor of the political party to which I belong.

I have always believed, and now believe, that there is abundance of room in Utah as elsewhere for a citizen to do his whole duty to the state without in the least degree interfering with his obligations to the church of which he may be a member. The thought had never occurred to me that I had, at any time, been a priestly hireling. Upon the least intimation from those who furnish means from which myself and others have received compensation that such is their view of the matter, I would thereafter neither take nor expect compensation for ecclesiastical work, but would gladly do all in my power, trusting the future for the rewards to which I would be entitled.

Recent occurrences intensify the demand, as expressed in our State Constitution, that state and religious matters must not be united, and that, while it is the duty of the state to protect the church in the enjoyment of the fullest religious freedom, the church must not attempt to dominate in civil affairs, and on this point I am with my party and do not hesitate to believe that our citizens when given the opportunity, will vindicate and maintain their political honor.

Believing as I do, that the citizens of Utah will once more at the polls in November vindicate their integrity and preserve their honor, as I expect to do, I shall vote for the Constitution, ready and willing, in and out of season, to do my part in maintaining the political rights, privileges and blessings of free institutions.

And now, in conclusion, in view of what has recently occurred, should the members of the convention feel that it would be in the interest of the Democratic party in Utah to have my name withdrawn as a possible candidate for the United State's Senatorship, you may regard my resignation as herein tendered, but should you still think that I should remain where your action at Ogden placed me, I shall be with you, head, heart and hand, to the end. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MOSES THATCHER.

The foregoing distinctions and declarations concerning the sphere and functions of church and state as being separate and independent are clear-cut and thoroughgoing. Moreover, he made these declarations at a time of intense interest and agitation of the questions discussed. At any other time his words would have had far less significance. At this particular time a great many members of the Mormon Church were assembled in convention, and the policy and procedure of their own church was the topic under consideration.

On May 25, 1892, Moses Thatcher published in the Salt Lake *Herald* a letter containing fundamental and discriminating thoughts on the question of church and state. The article was called out as a reply to a letter published in the Ogden *Standard* by Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith, who signed their names as "Republicans and descendents of Whigs." Their publshed letter was a quiver full of arrows, each one pointed and sharpened to make the keenest rejoinder possible to allegations made by Mr. Thatcher in a political speech at a Demo-

cratic convention held at Ogden a short time previous. The personalties of the two letters are not of importance in this connection; and we present those features of Mr. Thatcher's letter that develop the respective spheres and functions of church and state:

I simply maintained that Jesus contended for the exercise of man's individuality and free agency; while his imperious brother, Lucifer, sought by a plan of force exactly the opposite. * * * I recognize wisdom in the idea that "political addresses ought to deal in political matters solely and ought to leave theological matters alone," even though the letter itself appears in plain contradiction of that suggestion. In parity the rule can, I think, be reversed with profit to many: i. e. "That theological discourses ought to deal in theological matters solely and ought to leave political matters alone." Thus, with double purpose would be accomplished that which should be the great design of all religious and political parties, namely, the erection of an impassable barrier over which state influence, harmful to the constitutional guarantees of the church, could not pass; and over which church influence hurtful to the state could never go. And this, it seems to me, if not the greatest question involved in Utah today, is at least one of vast proportions, and one that none of us can afford to tamper with.

The conditions as now developed would seem to indicate the present as a suitable time in which to publicly define my position upon this most grave subject. To my mind it is a subject of vast moment to the people of Utah, and one fraught with the peace, prosperity, progress and happiness of ourselves and our children on the one hand, or of degradation, misery and bondage to us and to them, on the other. I am, therefore, constrained to approach it with a sense of its profound gravity and far-reaching consequence, rather than with feelings of personal resentment, which, if gratified, could only be so gratified in the interest of personal pride.

In the conditions surrounding us there are political issues arising that demand solution; and as they cannot be put aside, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to meet them manfully and courageously, affording such solution as the public weal, and not personal animosities should inspire, for after all, personality in questions of this nature, should find rest in the sea of public good as drops of rain find repose on the bosom of the ocean. For the wealth of empires I would not intentionally become a stumbling block or rock of offense to my friends, and if I have offended, it certainly was not premeditated. If errors by me have been committed they were of the head; the heart has certainly not held any malice aforethought.

As to the necessity of an absolute separation of church and state in this country, my position has long since been clearly defined, for I have urged earnestly and persistently, in public and private, that they should be entirely separate until He comes whose right it is to unite and rule over the one as king of kings and govern the other as lord of lords. These views are the outgrowth of years of thought, and, I may be excused if I say, of most earnest prayer over a subject fraught with matters of deepest import to the majority of the people of this vast intermountain region.' * * * * As fellow citizens, we meet upon a common political level each being the peer of the other, while every other citizen, irrespective of class

color or previous condition of servitude, whether poor or rich, famous or obscure, is the peer of either of us.

Resting upon this broad, humane and just platform, all the people in whom we have confided, for whom we have fraternal affection and upon whom we have builded high hopes of liberty and love, will come to know as many now know, how to distinguish between the words and works of a citizen and those of the church official, though the citizen and church official may be but one personality.

During the transition, a few individuals may drink often from the cup of sorrow down to the bitter dregs, being lashed by the whipcords of party prejudice until the fruits of honest toil and the flowers of honest repute may fade away like snow before the July sun; but the boon once gained and discriminative judgment once founded on the rock of political and divine truth, the Church will surely be safe and may demand without fear that toleration and protection from the government which is guaranteed by the Constitution of our country. Such a consummation gained in behalf of a persecuted and oppressed, but honest, upright people would be cause worthy of any sacrafice.

To my mind it affords a theme worthy the best thought and effort of statesman, poet and prophet. As religionists, let us still hold fast to the supreme declaration, "that Congress shall enact no law respecting the establishment of religion nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof." As citizens let us see to it that no word nor act of ours shall even by implication, taint the Church with the unjust and dangerous charge of its interference in the affairs of civil government.

As to myself the constant recognition of the civil rights of others, irrespective of party, seems important. And I desire in the discussion of political matters, and in every other way, to keep in mind the great democratic fact that whatever distinctions, birth, ancestry, posterity, name, wealth or education may have wrought in other directions, yet in political affairs and in the exercise of the sacred rights of franchise my poorest and most humble brother having the rights of citizenship is not only my equal, but under present conditions many of them are my superiors. I shall never ask to become more than their equal. * * * * If I believed politically and felt politically as do my Republican friends, Joseph F. and John Henry, I should no doubt write as they have written; but as I do not politically so believe and feel I refrain from imitating their style. I fully recognize, however, their right to criticise anything that I may politically say or do; but I do not accord them a higher right in that respect than that accorded to the humblest Republican in the rank and file of the party. * * * * Religiously, I have a yearning, earnest, prayerful desire to be one with my brethren and in an humble way, always asking God for help, I shall try to do my part. But when it comes to matters political, especially in reference to the fundamental principles dividing Democracy and Republicanism, I must still remain on the side that trusts the people, opposes protection, bounty legislation, and force bills, so long as I believe them oppressive and harmful to the masses. But I am willing that others should entertain and maintain opposite views.

Respectfully,

LOGAN, May 25, 1892. MOSES THATCHER.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PLEDGES OF THE MORMON CHURCH.

One of the strongest and most notable features of Moses Thatcher's position is that he holds the very ground concerning church and state that has already been covered by repeated pledges of the First Presidency, the leading officials and the whole body of the Mormon Church. In order to clear the way for statehood, they pledged honor and manhood to the people of Utah and the United States that church and state should be kept separate; and that by no exercise of priestly authority should the sphere of the civil government be infringed upon.

Hence Moses Thatcher's position is confessedly impregnable, and the authors of the Manifesto are put upon their defense to show that their rules and regulations do not violate the pledges heretofore given. As the terms in which such pledges were made are of great importance in this connection, we present several of them, beginning with the memorable interview of Presidents Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, published in the Salt Lake *Times*, June 23, 1891, which is as follows, in part:

TIMES INTERVIEW.

"It is asserted that the Peoples Party was dissolved by direction of the Church. Is there any foundation for that charge?"

"The People's Party was dissolved, as we understand, by the action of its leading members. They have stated to us their convictions that the time had come for a division on national party lines. There has been a growing feeling in this direction for a long time, and the dissolution of the People's Party is the result of that sentiment, and not the fiat or instruction of the Church. The first intimation that we had of dividing on party lines came to us from Ogden. There is, therefore, no foundation for the charge that the Church brought about the dissolution of the People's Party. The Church does not claim any such right."

"The *Times* has held that the appearance of Church management of the People's Party during recent times resulted purely from the fact that the party was composed almost entirely of members of the Church, with prominent churchmen taking part in the affairs, and that there has not been church rule as charged. Is this view correct?"

"The *Times* has correctly stated the facts connected with the appearance of Church management of the People's Party. That party having been composed principally of members of the Church, and self-defense

having compelled them to consult together and to decide concerning the best steps to be taken to preserve their rights, some color has been given to the charge that it was a Church party. But this has not been done in a Church capacity. Men have had influence in that party and been listened to according to their experience, and not because of their official position in the Church."

"That being true, are we to understand that the Church will not assert any right to control the political action of its members in the future?"

"This is what we wish to convey and have you understand. As officers of the Church we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body."

"Will there be any reason why members of the Church should come together and vote solidly, if political conditions here are similar to those which prevail elsewhere?"

"We cannot perceive any reason why they should do this in the future, if, as you say, political conditions should exist here as they prevail elsewhere."

"Do you understand that it is the wish of the Mormon Church to maintain a separation of church and state with respect to all political questions?"

"However much appearances may have indicated that we have favored the union of church and state, and notwithstanding the many assertions which have been made of this nature, there is no real disposition among the people of our Church to unite church and state; in fact, we believe there should be a separation between the two. But in past times the situation in this Territory was such that officers of the Church were frequently elected to civil office. If the people availed themselves of the best talent of the community, they were under the necessity very frequently of selecting officers of the Church to fill these positions. You must understand that nearly every reputable male member of the Mormon Church holds office in the Church. Of course, where the people, as was the case in many localities, were all Mormons, if they elected any of their own members they had to choose men who held positions in the Church. Men were selected for bishops because of their superior ability to care for and manage the affairs of their wards. They were the practical and experienced men of the several communities, and in the estimation of the people were suitable for legislators, etc. Their election to civil office led to the idea that there was a union of church and state."

"Do you believe that it is the wish of the Mormon people to unite with the great national parties and to conduct politics in this Territory as they are conducted in all other states?"

"That is the impression we have received from conversation with the men among us who take the greatest interest in political matters."

"Is there any reason why the members of the Church should not act freely with the national parties at all times?"

"We know of no reason why they should not."

"Is there anything to be gained for the Church by securing political control in Utah with or without statehood?"

"We see nothing to be gained for the Church in this way."

"Is it not true that the members and leaders of the Church desire to place it in a position in the community like that occupied by other church societies?"

"The only protection the Church desires is that which it should obtain under general laws which secure the rights of all denominations. It would be most unwise for the Mormon people to endeavor to secure any advantage not shared in by all other religious people. All that we ask is to have equal rights before the law."

"Is it your understanding that the Mormon people differ as to the Republican and Democratic parties, and that they will act in accordance with their convictions in uniting with those parties?"

"That is our understanding."

"Is it your wish that the Republican and Democratic parties should organize and present their principles to the Mormon people, and that they should unite with them according to their honest convictions?"

"Personally we have felt that the time would come when the two great parties would be organized in this Territory, and we have felt that if an attempt of this kind should be made, each should have the fullest opportunity to lay its principles before the people so that they might have a clear understanding of the issues and be able to decide in the light of facts presented to them, to which of the parties they would belong."

"That being true, could anything be gained by bad faith, even if it should be contemplated by any of the former members of the People's Party?"

"Certainly not."

"The opponents of party division on national lines declare that they want evidence of the sincerity of the Mormon people. The *Times* would ask you to state whether the declarations of sincerity on the part of those leaders who have been before the public reflect your views and meet with your approval?"

"Those declarations express our views and have our entire approval. What greater evidences can be asked than those which have already been furnished? The statement has been repeatedly made that the great objection to us was our belief in and practice of patriarchal marriage. In entire good faith the manifesto was written, signed by the leading men, and adopted by one of the largest Conferences of the Church ever held—a Conference composed of about 15,000 people. It has been asserted in addition, that the people were governed by the Priesthood in political matters. This is now disproved by the dissolution of the People's Party and the union of its members with the two national parties. What could possibly be gained by the action of the people if they were not sincere? If the elements of sincerity are wanting, such a movement would result in entire demoralization."

REMARKS ON FOREGOING INTERVIEW.

In this interview it is seen that the chief authorities disclaim all right to "dictate" to members concerning their political faith and action. They declare in behalf of an entire "separation of Church and State;" and many other expressions are used with reference to popular and current opinions on the subject; and by a great variety of language the First Presidency endeavor to show that their views and purposes are in harmony with the wishes and demands of the world at large.

The third question is of special significance: "Are we to understand that the Church will not assert any right to control the political action of its member in the future?"

The answer is: "This is what we wish to convey and have you understand. As officers of the Church we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body." Surely if the single pledge herein set out were kept in good faith and in the full meaning of words there would be no cause of complaint.

These pledges were made at the time of the division on party lines and in order to promote that movement. The thing of most importance to say about them is that they must be made to the people in the current sense and meaning of the words. There must be no double sense, or "mental reservation." The so-called "Gardo House meeting," as reported in the papers in connection with the proceedings of the Logan high council, was held about the time of the interview, probably later, we have not inquired into the matter of date as yet; but whenever held, its purpose and effect were in direct violation, not only of the pledges above given, but of all the others that were at various times and in divers forms promulgated. The matter will be presented elsewhere in these pages; but here it is necessary to make the point that all such political schemes are instances of bad faith in keeping pledges that were solemnly received and ratified by the people.

In the interview above given the Mormon Church speaks in its highest official capacity. They say in effect that they will not determine by counsel or any other priestly influence the status or policy of parties. They must not, in any ecclesiastical capacity, entertain and promote any policy or project of a political character. They disclaim all right to exercise political influence by means of ecclesiastical authority or inducement. The separation of church and state must be in the American sense. They must be really independent of each other. One must not live as a parasite upon the other; each has its own origin and sphere, each has its work to do, its cause for existence, and its end to achieve.

The *Deseret News*, June 24, 1891, in commenting on the "*Times* Interview" given above says:

> We believe their unreserved and straightforward statements will have the effect of satisfying persons who are undecided as to the political attitude of the leaders of the Mormon Church. Although there has not been the slightest evidence that they either controlled or claimed the right

to control the people of Utah in the exercise of the voting power, yet the charge that they did so has been reiterated so much that it has been taken by many as an undisputed fact.

At all events, whether the people had been subject to priestly "counsel" in political matters, or whether they had not, the "*Times* interview" shows that the First Presidency intended to convey to the people the impression that they should be politically free; and the Deseret News endeavors to fortify that impression and to substantiate the validity of the promises and pledges thus made.

THE HOME RULE MEMORIAL.

In January, 1892, the legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, composed of Mormons and Gentiles, addressed a memorial to the Congress of the United States, containing these words:

> In the midst of wonderful material progress her (Utah's) people have recently turned their attention to the study of the questions of government and legitimate politics, and are espousing the cause of one or the other of the national parties.
>
> These new conditions have come naturally, honestly, and for the future are absolutely secure. A patriotic people are pledged to their preservation. Retrogression, involving as it would dishonor and dire misfortune, is impossible.
>
> Utah, in the feelings of her people, has been lifted from her humiliation and disgrace. Today she is imbued with the hope and determination to be free—free in the full sense of American constitutional freedom; which means something more than liberty permitted; which consists in civil and political rights absolutely guaranteed, assured and guarded in one's liberties as a man and a citizen—his right to vote, his right to hold office, his equality with all others who are his fellow citizens, all these guarded and protected, and not held at the mercy and discretion of one man, or popular majority, or distant body unadvised as to local needs or interests.

DEMOCRATIC MEMORIAL.

At the national convention of the Democratic party, held at Chicago in 1892, a memorial was presented by the Democrats of Utah. signed by Hon. C. C. Richards, chairman of the Democratic Territorial Committee, and Elias Smith, secretary, in which, among other things, it was stated:

> "That the sole objections, to-wit: polygamy and Church dictation in politics, against the Mormon people on political grounds, have been entirely removed, and it is most unwise and impolitic to deny them the common rights and privileges of citizenship, or to place a barrier in their way when they are evidently determined to turn their backs on the past and for the

future labor in harmony with the Nation for the general welfare, in strict submission to the laws, and each taking an independent course in reference to party."

THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTION.

At the general Conference of the Mormon Church, held at Salt Lake City in October, 1891, the following resolution was adopted after extended discussion of the questions involved:

"WHEREAS, The Utah Commission, with one exception, in their report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1891, have made many untruthful statements concerning the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the attitude of its members in relation to political affairs; and,

"WHEREAS, Said report is an official document and is likely to prejudice the people of the Nation against our Church and its members, and it is therefore unwise to allow its erroneous statements to pass unnoticed. Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, By the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in general Conference assembled, that we deny most emphatically the assertion of the Commission that the Church dominates its members in political matters, and that the Church and State are united. Whatever appearance there may have been in times past of a union of Church and State, because men holding ecclesiastical authority were elected to civil office by popular vote, there is now no foundation or excuse for the statement that Church and State are united in political matters; that no coercion or influence whatever of an ecclesiastical nature has been exercised over us by our Church leaders in reference to which political party we shall join, and that we have been and are perfectly free to unite with any or no political party, as we may individually elect; that the People's Party has been entirely dissolved and that our fealty henceforth will be to such political party as seems best suited to the purposes of republican government."

WHO IS IN THE WRONG?

The foregoing exhibits are public pledges made by the Church as a whole and the chief authorities as representatives of the Church. If the several specifications and distinctions are carefully weighed they will be found to cover all the points that are necessary to be emphasized in a discussion of the spheres of Church and State. These pledges of the Church put it on the same ground as that occupied by Moses Thatcher in his declarations concerning Church and State. Are the Church authorities true to their covenants? If they are, why is Moses Thatcher ostracized? If their pledges affirm the rectitude of the position held by him, why is he now standing in the attitude of an offender?

What makes him an offender? It is his refusal to conform to the rule of the Manifesto. Surely then the Manifesto must

conflict with Moses Thatcher's declarations as to Church and State! If it does, it must also contradict the pledges made by the Church and the authors of the Manifesto! This is why Mr. Thatcher could not sign the Manifesto without stultification. Not only himself but the Church also would be stultified by the Manifesto.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

PRIESTHOOD "COUNSEL" IN POLITICS.

Under primitive conditions the secular ruler is also the religious authority, not only king but prophet and priest. As progress is made toward civilization the state is divorced from the church with a resulting increase of human welfare.

This process of differentiation is recognized by Christ himself when he said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." In the infinite mind all government is united; and if there ever comes a time when human souls will consciously enter the infinite life, then there may be but one organization for religious and governmental purposes. But at present man is a frail mortal, ever liable to temptation, ever subject to misapprehension, always open to motives of ambition and self-aggrandisement, never free from prejudice, never fully emancipated from the bonds of selfishness, never wholly illumined with the light and love of God, always human, always finite and dependent.

Hence it has become an axiom under democratic systems of government that there must be no "union of church and state." The First Presidency are as emphatic in making this declaration as Thomas Jefferson was. But when it comes to the meaning of words and propositions, when it comes to practices and fulfillments, their policies lead to a subversion of the state.

DESERET NEWS QUESTIONS.

In order to show how the rule of "counsel" laid down in the Manifesto is interpreted by the chief authorities that speak through the *Deseret News*, a list of seven questions printed in

the issue of November 21, with short answers to each, is herewith presented:

1. Has the Church through its rightly constituted authorities declared that Church and State affairs shall be separate, or has it not?

Ans. Yes, it has, not only through its "Authorities," but through the body of the Church in convention assembled.

2. If it has, how can this declaration take effect without a solemn agreement between the ecclesiastical officers that none of them shall enter a political race without first seeking the counsel of his brethren?

Why should ecclesiastics be banding and bonding themselves together concerning political offices? Who made them the ministers and masters of political positions? This would seem appropriate for a country governed by the papacy, but here in Utah we have not yet subjected ourselves to the rule of a pope. It is supposed that we have a free republican government.

Who controls the state under popular government? What are the people for? What did Abraham Lincoln mean when he spoke of "government by the people, of the people, for the people?" Is it the "brethren" that determine the matter of civil offices, or the people? Is it so that political offices, like ripened apples, are dropping into the laps of the "brethren," whether they will it or not? Who taught these ecclesiastics that the offices were going begging for them to fill them?

So it seems in the mind of the priesthood organ that the only danger to the state is that church officers will each be greedy to fill them? In former times when the controversy between church and state arose, the state sought to run the church; later the church controlled the state and made it a simple function of the church. Now the *Deseret News* thinks that the only thing necessary to keep the church off the state is that "all the brethren" should agree to get into the state at one time. They must "all agree" in one act of trespass on the state. It is an offense if one officer does it independently; but it is all right if all together go pell mell into the transgression.

But the *News* asks a sober question:—"How can this declaration (that church and state shall be separate) take effect without a solemn agreement between the ecclesiastical officers, etc." How strange it is that such a question should seem to be necessary! Does the church infringe on the state because some preacher or other clerical officer seeks employment in the civil service? No. If all civil officers were ecclesiastics, there migh

still be no union of church and state. They might still be clearly independent.

What then constitutes infringement? It is the use of the religious authority of the church to impel or induce men to act in civil affairs. Does the *News* know of anybody going up to Idaho recently to carry "counsel" to the "brethren" up there in regard to their political action? Does the *News* know of any prominent brother Mormon up in Idaho who now complains that he was defeated by the "counsel" carried up there by that same visiting brother? Does the *News* know of any "counsel" that was carried into Wyoming during the late canvass? Does the *News* know of any so-called visiting statesman who came to Salt Lake recently prepared with some of Mark Hanna's logic to procure "counsel" for the "brethren" in Idaho and Wyoming? Does the *News* know of any legislative "steering committee" whose mission it was to instruct "brethren" how to vote at the recent session.

It is such influences as the foregoing that constitute an infringement on the state. It is the use of church authority to induce actions and effect results in political and civil affairs. It can be said in truth that it is not the desire of the rank and file of the Mormon Church, the great and honest body of the membership, to have such infamous uses made of their sacred beliefs and confidences, but unfortunately there are men in power who control others, they hypnotize them and domineer over them, and in the end mould them to their nefarious purposes.

If the *News* wishes to know in good faith, "how this declaration (against union of church and state) can take effect without the rule requiring "counsel" in order to run for office in the state, let it reflect that no other church has found it necessary to have such a rule. Even those churches that have throughout the progress of christianity warred against the union of church and state, none of such churches has ever thought of a rule like that which is now proposed. Why? Because the rule is simply an expedient to control the presentation of officers to the state. It enables a few men, or perhaps one man, to say who shall be elected. It proposes to authorize certain men to run the state.

Hence the true answer to the question is that it is wholly and emphatically a usurpation for any church council to say one word or record a line concerning which one of their number shall take or seek political office. If they want to say that none of their number shall enter politics or any other secular occupation, it is their privilege to do so; but to say who shall go and

who shall come is to present men to the state, it is usurpation, a violation of the rights of the people, an infringement on popular liberty.

3. Is it possible to obtain the desired result without strict adherence to some uniform rule of conduct, and if so, how?

Why surely it is possible to obtain the proper and true result without such a rule; but whether that would be the "desired" result is not certain. How? Why, let the church authorities get out of politics; have them let politics severely alone; let the people run that department for themselves; that is what the chief authorities promised to do, and let them be faithful to their pledges. If the authorities let the political offices alone, the people will soon learn to know whether they need any clerical functionaries to serve in a civil capacity. How do churches manage such matters in other settled states? Surely, because we have the Mormon Church in Utah, the people are not differently constituted here from what they are in other parts of the country. Let the people and their politics alone.

4. Is not the recent address to the Saints the adoption of just such a rule with the plain and evident intention of preserving inviolate the border line between church and state?

The recent address to the Saints! Preserving the border line between church and state! The address uses many words and phrases that seem to sanction the separation of church and state. In that address the lion and the lamb lie down together in seeming peace and harmony, and in the practical working of the rule the lion is a perfect lion, and the lamb is a perfect lamb; and very, very lovingly they lie down together—the lamb inside the lion! The address is simply a contrivance of a very shrewd mind to get the lamb inside the lion with the utmost neatness and dispatch. If the lamb persists in not getting inside, the alternative is that it shall be defamed, maltreated, destroyed, as in the case of Moses Thatcher.

5. How can an ecclesiastical officer refusing to submit to such a rule escape the suspicion that he is the one who intends using his religious influence for political purposes?

What transparently shallow logic! How will such an ecclesiastic better the matter by being commissioned by his quorum and superior officers? Will he not be doubly charged with Church authority? And will he not be doubly empowered to impose himself on his brethren as a divinely appointed candidate for the office? Will it not give him a double dose of Church in-

fluence? Will he not then go forth as the only simon pure, regularly authorized, doubly blessed, especially chosen emissary of the Priesthood?

If there is evil in church influence in politics, as every lover of the Declaration of Independence must hold that there is, this endorsement by "the brethren" under the rule of "counsel" enhances in every way the possibilities of evil. And why does the *News* suggest that the man who refuses to submit to such a rule is the one that intends using his religious influence for political purposes? Are all those men that have refused to submit to the rule seeking office? If they were, is it likely that they would deem it an advantage to resist a rule that they could, if they were designing and unscrupulous men, use to promote their own interests? If they resist the rule, do they not thereby incur the enmity of crafty leaders who have great influence in the Church? If they were sordid office seekers, would they not work the Church for all that it was worth, and go to the people clad in all the religious influence of priesthood authority?

No, the man who has independence enough to go to the people without any such brand of church approval, stands in the presence of all honest men with infinitely less of the taint of "suspicion" than the man who plots with his ecclesiastical associates to capture an office which is the heritage of the people in their secular capacity.

6. What is it—bigotry, mania, hypocrisy or villiany, or all combined —that prompts an attack on the Church, because its authorities endeavor to carry out solemn pledges?

What is it that prompts such malice in a question? What is it that prompts such men as Moses Thatcher to refuse compliance to the rule of "counsel" promulgated by the Church? Are such epithets as "bigotry, mania, hypocrisy or villiany" applicable to Moses Thatcher? Are such qualities of mind and heart exhibited in his correspondence with President Snow? Are his friends, relatives and associates entitled to such designations? Does the *News* as the "Church organ," claim to be the voice of "the Son of God," in resorting to such vituperation?

Why does the *News* beg the question by assuming an "attack on the Church?" Does not that look like the most arrant cowardice? Don't you unjustly assume that your rule is right? By setting up an "attack on the Church," don't you seek to dodge an examination into the righteousness and justice of the rule? Don't you thus seek to hide the inquiry as to

its being subversive of the State? Don't you seek thus to raise such a dust that in the midst of it you may obscure the point at issue? Why not try to honestly show that the rule of "counsel" is not in conflict with the doctrine of the separation of church and state?

7. Are those the colors of the banner of "liberty," round which "Young Utah" are invited to rally? If so, keep on unfurling it to the breeze, as has been done in the papers the past week. "Young Utah" will then see where the standard of true liberty does not wave.

There was a mighty "banner of liberty" unfurled when the Declaration of Independence was promulgated. Its folds now wave in every land where the heart of man is bold enough and true enough to inaugurate self-government. That Godgiven ensign has been unfurled in Utah; its lines are written in our Constitution; its lessons are nourished in the hearts of our school children; we want to be true to the Heaven-born emblem of human liberty!

There is not a thought, not an emotion of soul that rises up in protest against the "rule of counsel" that does not have its inspiration from the "banner of liberty" that God unfurled in the Declaration of Independence. God knows that in the hearts of the men that are moved to resist this "rule" there is no thought of malice or unkindness toward the Church. But the thought is forced upon them that certain individuals in the Church are seeking to use the Church and its influence to promote their own selfish schemes. It is for the sake of these schemes that the Church is about to be ushered into a career in utter conflict with the sacred pledges of the past. The protest is not an anti-church protest. It is the voice of Liberty. It is the voice that spoke in the Declaration. It contains all politics because it contains all the motives of self-government. It lies at the foundation of the democracy of Thomas Jefferson and the republicanism of Abraham Lincoln. It is the sunlight and air of every true patriot. It is as deep as the human soul, as broad as human life.

TRIBUNE QUESTIONS.

Having reproduced the queries of the *Deseret News*, it is fair to give place to a similar series of questions from the *Tribune* which have the merit of answering themselves in the intelligence of any man who can honestly lay claim to intelligence.

The *News* says it opposes Moses Thatcher's candidacy for the sole reason that he stands upon a platform "which, fairly interpreted, means nothing more nor less than war against a religious society."

The public of Utah is not especialy interested either in Moses Thatcher or the *News*, but is deeply interested in knowing what the Mormon Church now holds as a "war against it." So we beg to propound to the organ of the Church a few questions, as follows:

1. Does Moses Thatcher pretend to assail, trench upon or render invalid any article of the Mormon faith?

2. Is or is not his present insistence solely that as an American citizen he has a right to excercise his political privileges, without regard to his religious superiors?

3. Has not that right been conceded to him and every other member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints by the present First Presidency of the Church?

4. Was it not the assumption of the right of the First Presidency to dictate the action of the members of the Church in political matters that kept Utah in a turmoil and filled with apprehension and unrest the hearts of men here for twenty-five years?

5. Was it not the voluntary surrender of that claim by the First Presidency that secured Statehood for Utah?

6. Has the course of the *News* during the past six days been the same that it would have been had the question of admitting Utah to Statehood been one which Congress was about to consider?

7. If not, has good faith been displayed toward the United States and this people since the People's party disbanded?

8. If the *News* as the organ of the Church, can dictate who shall not be elected to office, cannot the same power dictate who shall be?

9. If it can, what political freedom has Utah any more than when the nominations were announced from the Tabernacle altars and the people were instructed to vote for candidates so named?

The people of Utah are exceedingly anxious to read the answers to the foregoing interrogatories.

THE DESERET NEWS' FIGHT FOR THE SENATORSHIP.

In a letter of Judge E. G. Woolley, of St. George, published in the *Tribune*, Dec. 6th, the following paragraph occurs:

> While there may be a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the course being pursued by the *Deseret News* in threatening the supporters of Thatcher for the Senate, with Church power, still I would rather have an open fight at any time than to be stating one policy for the outside to hear and pursuing another in secret, so that I am willing to stand by the Church in an open fight for any principle of right, and at no matter what cost.

Judge Woolley is right in one thing: he would rather have an "open fight" than "to be stating one policy for the outside to hear, and pursuing another in secret;" and this "open fight"

he is willing to pursue "at no matter what cost." He is "willing to stand by the Church for any principle of right;" but he does not take time to discriminate whether the "principle of right" belongs to the Church as co-ordinate with the State, leaving Church and State independent of each other, or whether it belongs to the Church as a means of absorbing and swallowing up the state. He seems willing to let the Church say what it wants, and then "fight it out," whether or not the State is overwhelmed as the result.

While open warfare is preferable to secret machinations, there is little doubt that both methods will be worked for all that they are worth; yet it is nobler and fairer for the "Church organ" to sound the key note and head the charge with such of the Saints as are loyal to its behests, than to inaugurate a secret warfare against Mr. Thatcher, such as the *Tribune* authorizes in its comment on Judge Woolley's letter, one of those strangely inconsistent, uncertain and ambiguous counsels for which the *Tribune* has become famous of late:

> We publish his (Judge Woolley's) letter merely as a matter of news, because that is the business of a newspaper, and have no comment to make upon it except this: To impress upon the readers of the *Tribune* the fact that the matter of the discipline of the Mormon Church, or in the Quorum of Apostles, is no concernment whatever to us, and the only reason we have entered any protest is that the organ of the Mormon Church in this city proclaimed a church warfare on Mr. Thatcher in political matters. That is something no Church in America has any right to do, and is in violation of the understanding which was fairly had before Statehood was given to Utah. To make it clear, if Apostle John Henry Smith or President George Q. Cannon, or President Woodruff pleases to go to the members of the Legislature and say: "If I were in the Legislature I would not vote for Mr. Thatcher, because he has needlessly antagonized the religion in which we believe," that would be a man's right, the same as it is Mr. Thatcher's right to be a candidate, notwithstanding his church troubles. But when the organ of that Church in effect pulls down the anathemas of heaven on Mr. Thatcher or any other man to beat him for a political office, that is a direct trenching upon the State, and that kind of work must not go on in Utah.

One may well wonder that the *Tribune* should publish such an editorial comment. It evinces a marvelous blindness and flagrancy of misapprehension. The idea of monkeying with the question of church and state by saying that the open editorials of the *News* are objectionable while it is not objectionable for "President" Woodruff, "President" Cannon, and "Apostle" Smith to go *privately* to individual members of the Legislature —members of the Church—and make their fight in the name

of the Church and in defense of the Church! And all this without making any reservation or qualification as to the *character* in which these men go, or the *influences* they shall bring to bear on brethren who are members of the Legislature! How blandly those who are intense supporters of the *News'* policy will smile at the wisdom displayed by a paper that has set out to champion the statehood rights and exemptions of the people of Utah under specific pledges of the Mormon Priesthood!

The point at issue is the separation, independence and coordination of church and state in their respective spheres of action. Neither the Church nor any member or representative of the Church is justifiable in using means to influence legislators in either of the following forms:

1. By controlling the vote of a member of the Legislature by *priestly counsel.* We don't need special inspiration of God to tell us concerning the contents of the multiplication table or any other problem of pure or applied mathematics, for the mind is naturally furnished with the power to acquire such knowledge; but we can have assistance such as the subject matter warrants. It is the same with all secular questions appertaining to legislation and statesmanship. The mind itself is competent for all such things, with the assistance of the lights and helps of nature.

So far as Messrs. Woodruff, Cannon and Smith can help men along in the exercise of their mental faculties and the acquisition of knowledge, they do not need to use *priestly* offices, for they are working along a natural and secular plane. But it is for no such purpose that "Presidents," "Apostles" and other priestly officers go to a legislator to give "counsel;" they go appealing to the religious suceptibilities of the human heart; they go claiming to represent Him who is essentially inscrutable and incomprehensible—that to which the awe and mystery of our souls respond. Into the sacred abiding place of faith and trust they make bold to intrude themselves for a *secular* purpose; and from this center of religious motive power they speak in the name of God, saying that certain things should be done. The natural grounds and reasons for the course recommended are ignored; the man is induced to obey from priestly dictation and authority. This is one phase of the nature and operation of counsel; but there is another equally as objectionable, as follows:

2. By setting up the Church as imperial, absolute and unrestricted, the major premise for all secular reasoning, the true

center and source of all right and authority, the real and present Kingdom of God.

It is this form of belief that pervades Judge Woolley's candid and valuable article. He sees nothing, knows nothing but the Church; and what the Church wants he is willing to fight for, utterly ignoring the contention that the "rule of counsel" is simply a piece of machinery chiefly valuable as a means of controlling and absorbing the state.

Under this second form of "priestly counsel" the legislator is warned that the Church is endangerd, that such a man is an enemy of the Church, that his election will be an injury to the Church, and he is cautioned against voting for him; and all the time there is a great and mysterious thought in the background —through the hazy exhortations of "counsel," the recipient, according to his faith in the Church, thinks he sees the hand and hears the voice of God!

Frequently, however, the potency of priestly "counsel" resolves itself into a simple *business proposition.* There are considerable tithing funds; there are immense debts, and there is wild and daring speculation on the part of certain individuals in authority. A great many have got a foot in it; some are in with both feet; others are anxious to get in; still others are equally anxious to get out; some have their living and employment at stake; a vision of destitute and hungry wives and babies stares them in the face; this vast net work of human needs and business complication is a magazine of reserve power, and all may be used by some one and in some way in connection with "counsel."

In answer to all unjust and forbidden methods of proceedure it is important to recognize the fact that American institutions have orignated in connection with a clean-cut distinction between church and state, that each is independent, each has its own grounds for existence and its own sources of knowledge, each has its own conditions for progress and perfection; neither must trespass on the sphere of the other. Religion must not come into the control of the state; neither must the state trench on the province of religion. If the *News* will make an "open fight" and an honorable fight, neither ignoring the state nor shrouding its own counsels in a glamour of false godliness—an honest battle for the right—millions of men and women will gladly accord it a right to openly contend in the political arena.

THE DESERET NEWS ON CHURCH AND STATE.

In numerous issues and in a variety of forms the *News* has laid down its doctrine of church and state; we quote a sample paragraph in the editorial of November 18th, as follows:

> The candidacy of the person to whom all this has reference, is antagonized by the *News* because it is an assault upon the doctrines and organic existence of the Church of which this paper is the official organ. His appearance in the political arena at this time is nothing more nor less than this, and every candid voter in the commonwealth will admit it. He himself announces that he stands upon a platform equivalent to this very proposition. It is not a political question, for the candidate's politics cuts no figure in it. It is religious, pure and simple, in that it involves nothing more nor less than questions relative to the integrity of a religious organization, the maintenance of its discipline, and the perpetuity of its doctrines.

Note the following propositions contained in the foregoing editorial:

1. "The candidacy of the person to whom all this has reference (Moses Thatcher) is antagonized by the *News* because it is an assault upon the doctrines and organic existence of the Church of which this paper is the official organ."

2. "It is not a political question."

3. "It is religious, pure and simple, in that it involves nothing more nor less than questions relative to the integrity of a religious organization, the maintenance of its discipline, and the perpetuity of its doctrines."

4. "The candidate's politics cut no figure in it."

Here are four propositions expressed in the identical language of the *News*' editorial, and every one of the four is wrong for the reason that the *News* puts the Mormon Church in the wrong attitude; it puts the Church where it ought not to be; it puts the Church on the railroad track of Civil Liberty, and then finds fault with the locomotive of American Freedom because the obstruction gets bumped off the track.

This is the story in a nutshell: The Reconvened Convention, October 22, 1895, *laid down the principles of civil liberty as a platform.* Moses Thatcher and all others that participated in that convention, not excepting Mr. Roberts, adopted those principles and pledged themselves to stand by them. The crafty leaders among the Mormon Authorities, seeing that they could not safely attack the principles directly, concluded to do it by a flank movement; so they promulgated *"the rule of counsel."* By this means they believed they could control politics in the interest of the Church; and they further believed they could

control the Church in their own personal interest, and utilize its revenues to promote their wild speculations. In this way they set their "rule of discipline" on the track of Civil Liberty, and unless Freedom fails in her Godlike mission, that "rule of of Counsel" is going *to be thrown out of the way.*

Some of the more important principles affirmed by the Reconvened Convention are as follows:

"Equal and exact justice to all men, and special privileges to none," is the foundation principle of the Democratic Party. It is now, and ever has been, the party of civil and religious freedom. It is the party of toleration. It has ever been the defender of the rights of individuals and the advocate of personal liberty. It believes in the people, and declares that they are the source of all political power. It steadfastly maintains that there shall be no invasion of personal rights. It is a stanch upholder of the doctrine that man must be allowed to worship God where he chooses and as he chooses, without molestation and without intereference, and that, on the other hand, he should not be directed in his course toward governmental affairs by those whom he has chosen to minister to his spiritual welfare.

We declare the truth to be:

I. That man may worship his maker as his conscience dictates.

II. That no State nor political body has the right to interfere with this great privilege.

III. That man's first allegiance, politically, is to his country.

IV. That no church, ecclesiastical body, nor spiritual adviser should encroach upon the political rights of the individual.

V. That in a free country no man nor body of men can, with safety to the State, use the name or the power of any religious sect or society to influence or control the elective franchise.

VI. That a trust is imposed upon each citizen in a free country to act politically upon his own judgment and absolutely free from control or dictation, ecclesiastical or otherwise.

VII. That no political party can be required to obtain the consent of any church, or the leader thereof, before selecting its candidate for public office.

VIII. That no citizen, by reason of his association with any church, can be absolved from his duty to the state, either in times of war or of peace, without the consent of the state.

IX. That all men should be, and of right are, free to think, free to act, free to speak, and free to vote, without fear, molestation, intimidation, or undue influence.

Thus believing, whenever designing men have seized upon the cloak of religion to hide from view their nefarious designs, and while appealing to man's spiritual faith have sought to direct his political action for selfish ends, the Democratic Party since its organization has denounced such a course. It has declared in the past and it declares now for every man's political freedom, whatever may be the governmental views of those who guide his spiritual welfare.

We therefore, in the most solemn manner, say that we will not be so

dictated to, interfered with, or hindered in our political duties by those selected to minister to us the consolations of the gospel.

The people being sovereign in this free land, to the people we make our appeal. The church being the source of man's religion, to the church we appeal, when we so desire, with regard to matters affecting the conscience.

Now let the "Church organ" and all other persons and organizations take due notice that it is not so much Moses Thatcher or any other individual that stands in the way of the "rule of counsel" as the principles of liberty that were declared to be the political faith of the Reconvened Convention; and if the Democratic Party of Utah proves true to its plighted faith, these principles will prevail; and if that party should prove recreant to its trust, some other party will maintain its principles. For Civil Liberty is not of mushroom growth; it is not the child of a day; for centuries it has been growing, and it is not going to lose its meaning or change its color because a few members of the Mormon Priesthood plot against it.

If any person wishes *evidence* of the fact that the feelings of the people were aroused in a way that culminated in the declaration of principles by the Reconvened Convention, and that a great many of the Mormon people were in spirit opposed to the meaning and intent of the "rule of counsel," and this *before* the "rule of counsel" was promulgated, let him consider the following telegram which was signed and sent at the time of said Convention.

LOGAN, UTAH, October 22, 1895.

The Democrats of Cache County unite in declaring for absolute separation of church and state. We oppose the idea that men should be compelled to get permission from ecclesiastical authorities before exercising their political rights. We deny that Democrats are religiously or otherwise bound to follow the advice of Republicans in making up Democratic tickets. We shall uphold every legitimate effort of our party to resist and disavow such pretensions, if any such have been made. Stand firm for the right.

J. H. Paul, G. W. Thatcher, I. C. Thoresen, Joseph Kimball, William Haslam, W. R. Owen, Jesse S. Hancey, William Sparks, John Dale, Aaron F. Farr, Jr., Joseph H. Olsen, Frank K. Nebeker, O. A. Reavil, Don C. Musser, Fred Turner, Will G. Farrell, S. M. Molen, W. G. Reese, B. G. Thatcher, William Edwards, E. G. Robinson, A. D. Smith, John Bench, Noble Warrum, Jr., Joseph Monson, Arthur Hart, H. J. Matthews, H. A. Campbell, Martin Woolf, Newell W. Kimball, J. M. Blair, J. L. Payne, Thomas L. Obray, James C. Orr, Alma Olsen, James Lofthouse, Thomas Leishman, Joseph Quinny, M. A. Hendricks, H. G. Hayball, Chas. W. Maughan, Joseph Wilson, Samuel Clarke, John Robinson, G. M. Thompson, John M. Wilson.

With two exceptions these men are Latter-Day Saints, and on last June the Democracy of Cache County met again in convention and, with the exception of five, themselves personal friends of Thatcher, the convention of 150 representative men of the county agreed upon and adopted the following resolutions:

We are opposed to any union, and to any attempt at union, real, apparent, possible or potential, of the church and the state. In the language of the Utah Constitution, the supreme law of this commonwealth, "there shall be no union of church and state, nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its functions." We declare the State to be the supreme authority in all matters that concern the political rights and duties of its citizens. We believe it prejudicial to the interests of the State if any organization existing under its laws should visit penalties, disabilities or disadvantages, upon any citizen of this State because of his free choice of his political party, and participation in the ordinary duties of citizenship. We believe that citizens should conform to whatever the State expressly and of right commands them to do; and in return for the benefits and protection which the State guarantees to them, that they should serve the State, whether in peace by casting a free and untrammeled ballot, or by holding public office at the call of a majority of the citizens, or in war by bearing arms; in all necessary ways should defend, honor and obey the institutions and laws of the country. The State has the right to demand that whatever rules of discipline may be adopted by any society for the regulation of the political action of the society's own members, those rules must be consistent with the laws of the land and with the genius of free institutions and should be uniform in operation, applying with strictness and impartiality to each member of the class for whom they are intended, and showing favors to none.

We reassert with all possible candor and plainness, that any interference with the free exercise of the rights of the elective franchise will not be tolerated or condoned in our midst, so long as the Democratic party shall be able to maintain inviolate these sacred rights of our citizens. And, conversely, the Democratic party hereby reaffirms in behalf of every person and every society, religious, social or political, in this State, the time-honored doctrine of true Democracy, in the guarantee of the utmost toleration and protection of each under the law, with special favors to none and equal rights to all.

We reaffirm the correctness of the doctrines of personal liberty which were announced by the Reconvened Convention, as principles which are dear to the heart of every true citizen of this Republic, and we endorse the course of our esteemed fellow-citizen, Hon. Moses Thatcher, in maintaining his stand upon these principles of truth and justice amid the combined misfortunes of sickness, hostile criticism, and the honest misconception of perhaps both friend and foe.

Anybody can see that it is not Moses Thatcher, or the Reconvened Convention, or anyone else that is attacking the Church, or interfering with its doctrine or discipline; but it is the

framers of the "rule of counsel" that have put themselves in the pathway of Civil Liberty; and if there is to be a struggle for Liberty and for a separation of Church and State in Utah, "*may God protect the right.*"

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

THE MANIFESTO EXAMINED.

Following is the Manifesto in full, as first published in the *Salt Lake Herald.*

To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, in General Conference Assembled:

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS—Every Latter-Day Saint will recognize the value of union, not only in action, but in matters of faith and discipline. As to the rights and authority of the priesthood of the Son of God, it is of the highest importance that there should be no difference of opinion among the officers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Feeling the necessity of a correct understanding of this principle, we deem it proper at this sixty-sixth anniversary of the orginazation of the Church in these last days, to prepare and present a statement on the subject, embodying the doctrine which has always prevailed in the Church and our views upon it. We are prompted to adopt this course at the present time, because of events which have happened during the late political contest. A great diversity of opinion on the subject has been expressed, and even by leading elders in the Church, which latter fact has naturally led in some instances to considerable division of sentiment.

It is of great importance that we understand each other, and that there be harmony in our teachings. It is especially important that those teachings shall be in accordance with the rules and regulations and doctrines which have been taught, and which have prevailed from the beginning until the present time, having not only the sanction of undisputed usage, but the approval of all faithful leaders in the Church and of Him in whose name and by whose authority they act.

THE RECENT ELECTION.

In the late exciting contest, to which reference has been made, the presiding authorities in some instances have been misunderstood. In other instances they have been misrepresented, which has led to a wrongful conception of their real views. It has been asserted too freely, and without foundation, that there has been a disposition on their part to interfere with individual liberty and to rebuke in some men a course which was applauded in others. In a word, that they have appeared to desire to assert

and maintain an unjust and oppressive control over the actions of the members of the Cnurch, and in thus doing have endeavored to effect a union of church and state. In the heat of political discussion, assertions have been made and arguments used conveying to the public mind a false idea concerning the position of the officers of the Church, and leaving the impression that there has been and was now being made an attempt to accomplish the union above referred to. Now that the excitement has passed, and calmer reason has resumed its sway, we think it prudent to set forth, so that all may understand, the exact position occupied by the leading authorities of the Church.

NO UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

In the first place we wish to state in the most positive and emphatic language that at no time has there ever been any attempt or even desire on the part of leading authorities referred to to have the Church in any manner encroach upon the rights of the State, or to unite in any degree the functions of one with those of the other.

Peculiar circumstances have surrounded the people of Utah. For many years a majority of them in every portion of the Territory belonged to one church, every reputable member of which was entitled to hold and did hold some ecclesiastical office. It is easy to see how, to the casual observer, it might appear singular that so many officers of the Church were also officers of the State; but while this was in fact the case, the distinction between Church and State throughout those years was carefully maintained. The President of the Church held for eight years the highest civil office in the community, having been appointed by the national administration, Governor of the Territory. The first Secretary of the Territory was a prominent Church official. An Apostle represented the Territory in Congress, as a Delegate during ten years. The members of the legislature also held offices in the Church. This was unavoidable; for the most suitable men were elected by the votes of the people, and, as we have stated, every reputable man in the entire community held some Church position, the most energetic and capable holding leading positions. This is all natural and plain enough to those who consider the circumstances; but it furnished opportunity for those who were disposed to assail the people of the Territory to charge them with attempting to unite church and state. A fair investigation of the conditions will abundantly disprove the charges and show its utter falsity.

On behalf of the Church of which we are leading officials, we desire again to state to the members and also to the public generally, that there has not been, nor is there, the remotest desire on our part or on the part of our co-religionists to do anything looking to a union of church and state.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

We declare that there has never been any attempt to curtail individ ual liberty—the personal liberty of any of the officers or members of the Church. The First Presidency and other leading officers did make certain suggestions to the people when the division on party lines took place. Tha movement was an entirely new departure, and it was necessary in order that the full benefit should not be lost which was hoped to result from

this new political division, that people who were inexperienced should be warned against hasty and ill-considered action. In some cases they were counseled to be wise and prudent in the political steps they were about to take, and this with no idea of winning them against their will to either side. To this extent, and no further, was anything said or done upon this question, and at no time and under no circumstances was any attempt made to say to voters how they should cast their ballots. Any charge that has been made to the contrary is utterly false.

CANNON IN POLITICS.

Concerning officers of the Church themselves, the feeling was generally expressed in the beginning of the political division spoken of, that it would be prudent for leading men not to accept of office at the hands of the political party to which they might belong. This counsel was given to men of both parties alike—not because it was thought that there was any impropriety in religious men holding civil office, nor to deprive them of any of the rights of citizeship, but because of the feeling that it would be better under all the circumstances which had now arisen to avoid any action that would be likely to create jealousy and ill-feeling. An era of peace and good will seemed to be dawning upon the people, and it was deemed good to shun everyting that could have the least tendency to prevent the consummation of this happy prospect. In many instances, however, the pressure brought to bear upon efficient and popular men by the members of the party to which they belonged was of such a character that they had to yield to the solicitation to accept nomination to office, or subject themselves to the suspicion of bad faith in their party affiliations. In some cases they did this without consulting the authorities of the Church; but where important positions were held, and where the duties were of a responsible character, some did seek the counsel and advice of the leading Church authorities before accepting the political honors tendered them. Because some others did not seek this counsel and advice, ill-feeling was engendered and undue and painful sensitiveness was stimulated; misunderstanding readily followed, and as a result the authorities of the Church were accused of bad faith, and made the subjects of bitter reproach. We have maintained that in the case of men who hold high positions in the Church, whose duties are well defined, and whose ecclesiastical labors are understood to be continuous and necessary, it would be an improper thing to accept political office or enter into any vocation that would distract or remove them from the religious duties resting upon them without first consulting and obtaining the approval of their associates and those who preside over them. It has been understood from the very beginning of the Church that no officer whose duties are of the character referred to, has the right to engage in any pursuit, political or otherwise, that will divide his time and remove his attention from the calling already accepted. It has been the constant practice with officers of the Church to consult or, to use our language, to "counsel"—with their brethren concerning all questions of this kind. They have not felt that they were sacrificing their manhood in doing so, nor that they were submitting to improper dictation, nor that in soliciting and acting upon the advice of those over them they were in any manner doing away with their individual rights and agency, nor that to any improper degree were their rights and

duties as American citizens being abridged or interfered with. They realize that in accepting ecclesiastical office they assumed certain obligations; that among these was the obligation to magnify the office which they held, to attend to its duties in preference to every other labor, and to devote themselves exclusively to it with all the zeal, industry and strength they possessed, unless released in part or for a time by those who preside over them. Our view, and it has been the view of all our predecessors, is that no officer of our Church, especially those in high standing, should take a course to violate this long-established practice. Rather than disobey it, and declare himself defiantly independent of his associates and his file leaders, it has always been held that it would be better for a man to resign the duties of his priesthood; and we entertain the same view to-day.

In view of all the occurrences to which reference has been made, and to the diversity of views that have arisen among the people in consequence, we feel it to be our duty to clearly define our position, so there may be no cause hereafter for dispute or controversy upon the subject:

First—We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed *in the Church* and by *every leading official* thereof, that before accepting *any position*, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and *before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties* said official should apply to the *proper authorities and learn from them whether he can* consistently with the obligations already entered into with the Church upon assuming his office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position. To maintain proper discipline and order in the Church, we deem it absolutely necessary; and in asserting this rule, we do not consider that we are infringing in the least degree upon the individual rights of the citizen. Our position is that a man having accepted the honors and obligations of ecclesiastical office in the Church, cannot properly, of his own volition, make those honors subordinate to or even co-ordinate with new ones of an entirely different character; we hold that unless he is willing to counsel with and obtain the consent of his fellow-laborers and presiding officers in the priesthood, he should be released from all obligations associated with the latter, before accepting any new position.

Second—We declare that in making those requirements of ourselves and our brethern in the ministry, we do not in the least desire to dictate to them concerning their duties as American citizens, or to interfere with the affairs of the State; neither do we consider that in the remotest degree we are seeking the union of church and state. We once more here repudiate the insinuation that there is or ever has been an attempt by our leading men to trespass upon the ground occupied by the State, or that there has been or is the wish to curtail in any manner any of its functions.

Your brethren,

WILFORD WOODRUFF,
GEO. Q. CANNON,
JOS. F. SMITH,
First Presidency.

The following is a discussion of the Manifesto by sections and paragraphs in consecutive order. In each section it is in-

tended to present, not only the surface meaning, but also the more latent significance of the language. In some cases the real meaning lies between the lines.

1. To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, in General Conference Assembled:

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS—Every Latter-Day Saint will recognize the value of union, not only in action, but in matters of faith and discipline.

It is noticeable in this enumeration of items in which union is desired, that the most important requisite, the only one really and truly attainable, is omitted: That is love—Christian love and sympathy. Love unites opposites; it blends the numberless diversities of human life into harmony; it is the bond of perfection; without it all other union is "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

The glory of love as the bond of union is that it is broader than church; it thrills the heart of motherhood throughout all animate creation; it dances with the motes in the sunbeam; it murmurs with the brooks; it moves with the tides of the ocean; it joins its melody with the music of the spheres. There may be diversities of beliefs and practice; but with unity of love the heights are scaled and the ideals of the Lord Christ are achieved.

THE SPECIAL THEME.

2. As to the rights and authority of the Priesthood of the Son of God, it is of the highest importance that there should be no difference of opinion among the officers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

The special topic proposed in the Manifesto is "the rights and authority of the Priesthood." There must be "no difference of opinion." This looks like centralization wherein one mind does the thinking and prohibits all other thought. With brotherly love there might be unity and harmony in the midst of great diversity of opinion; but without it everything must run on the dead plane of machinery.

A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE.

3. Feeling the necessity of a correct understanding of this principle, we deem it proper at this Sixty-sixth Anniversary of the organization of the Church in these last days, to prepare and present a statement on the subject, embodying the doctrine which has always prevailed in the Church, and our views upon it.

To explain a principle is to state its nature and origin. This the manifesto does not attempt to do. It does not define the "rights" of priesthood; but it elaborates and enforces the "authority" of the priesthood which manifests itself through "counsel." This counsel applies to all things; but in this manifesto it is applied chiefly to political affairs. It is in reference to political matters that the authorities speak of "feeling the necessity of a correct understanding of this principle." But they do not explain a principle; they simply enforce a rule of practice.

A SOVEREIGN REMEDY APPLIED.

4.—We are prompted to adopt this course at the present time because of events which have happened during the late political contest.

Certain political events have occurred; an emergency arises; they "feel the necessity of preparing and presenting a statement" of the doctrine of priesthood; their "statement" culminates in the duty of "counsel;" the old usages and teachings of the church all point to counsel as the first and foremost of obligations; and in this emergency counsel is what is necessary to redeem and preserve the church from dissensions and calamities that seem imminent. What is necessary is to restore the customary and time honored authority of the priesthood. In order to restore "union in action, faith and discipline," there must be under the new politics, the same recognition of counsel as under the old regime.

DIVERSITIES DEPLORED.

5.—A great diversity of opinion on the subject has been expressed, and even by leading elders in the church, which latter fact has naturally led in some instances to considerable division of sentiment.

Some are ducks that take to the water; others are chickens that scratch the ground. They entertain differences of opinion about the many things that enter into governmental policy. They develop differences of moral and economic instinct. Some are jealous of every encroachment on individual and personal rights. Others are zealous for combined effort and the exhibition of strong governing power as a means of safety and welfare.

This diversity of opinion is a new phase of things, and it can only be met by "counsel." Instead of diversity of opinion, there must be unity; and instead of many minds running off here and there, only one mind must do the thinking; and when this central thinking is spread out to the periphery by means of "counsel"

the purpose of "union in faith, discipline and action" will have been achieved.

WHAT MIGHT BE.

There is only one line of thinking that seems to threaten a disturbance of the counseled unity that tolerates "no difference of opinion;" that is the thinking suggested by the Declaration of Independence. But why should we fear to welcome the highest and truest attitude of the human soul—that of freedom, independence and self-reliance? God himself is independent and absolute; and no soul can be truly begotten in his image without sharing his absoluteness.

What would happen the Mormon church were a majority of its members to imbibe in its full meaning and effect, the lesson of the Declaration of Independence? Would it weaken the church or dim its glory? No. It would put the church in the way of true progress and efficiency. It would release it from the care of trivial burdens of a material, civil and temporal character, and it would encourage the mind and spirit of the church to develop those higher truths that are needed to lift the world out of the slough of materialism and monetary greed into which it has fallen.

We are now importing from Asia doctrines concerning the soul and eternal life; and with much of illusion and error these doctrines are spreading over the country in a way to counteract the sordid tendencies of the age. They find a welcome because they are a needed antidote for ills that are afflicting the souls of the race. And Mormonism has a groundwork of doctrine of the soul and eternal life that goes far towards satisfying the want for the sake of which many people are hunting up the records of thought dating back to the dawn of human history.

Would it be diminishing the sphere and splendor of the Mormon church to take off its hands from the miserable squabbles of politics and the sordid weight of business interests in order that it might more truly and effectively explore and reveal the domain of eternal life? No. This would be to exalt the church and put it in the way of fulfilling its true mission.

AN OPEN FAITH.

6.—It is of great importance that we understand each other, and that there be harmony in our teachings.

It is not so important that ministers of the gospel should "understand each other" as to understand Christ and his teach-

ings. Having the same sources of knowledge and the same great leader, if they are faithful to those, they can not fail to comprehend each other.

There were numerous secret religious orders in ancient times; but Christ did not approve of them. When asked concerning his doctrine he replied, "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple whither the Jews resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them. Behold they know what I said." John, 18:20.

The great truths of life and being, of mathematics and philosophy, of morals and religion are all an open book, as free as the air and sunlight, as unobstructed as the open vault of heaven.

It is a menace to public welfare when any order of men, whether secular or religious, have a secret understanding with each other. Especially in Christian work should there be an open book known and read of all men. The more sunlight and publicity the better for public morality.

IS DIVERSITY UNDESIRABLE?

7.—It is especially important that these teachings shall be in accordance with the rules and regulations and doctrines which have been taught and which have prevailed from the beginning until the present time, having not only the sanction of undisputed usage, but the approval of all faithful leaders in the church and of him in whose name and by whose authority they act.

Uniformity of belief and teaching is desirable if it be not at the expense of independence and individuality. It is far more important to preserve the personal coloring that distinguishes men and women, than to create unanimity by arbitrary processes. Men are made so as to think and act differently; yet all may be equally divine; even as the leaves of the trees and the sands of the sea differ each from the other. There is unity in diversity; and it requires all to reveal the fullness of the infinite. The numerous historic religions present diverse phases of truth. Doubtless each one will be found to reveal some special color that enters into combination with all the others to make the pure white light of the eternal sun of righteousness.

"The rules and regulations which have been taught and which have prevailed from the beginning," are proposed above as a means of settling political differences of opinion and policy. As said in Sec. 5. "a great diversity of opinion (in politics) has led to division of sentiment." Then comes the exhortation to be of one mind, to understand each other, to unite in the usages

and teachings (counsel) of the past years of church activity, and all as a means of preventing diversity and division of sentiment in politics.

How do divisions of sentiment arise? We have an illustration in the reconvened convention, Oct. 22, 1895. When this body affirmed for individuals the rights and principles of the Declaration of Independence, such action would naturally create a division of sentiment as to submitting to "counsel" any matter other than such as belonged to the church in its proper spiritual sphere. Whoever believed in the Declaration intelligently would be slow to ask "counsel" in any matter of party politics.

The Mormon people regard the Declaration as inspired. The question arises, which is the greater inspiration, the Declaration, or priestly "counsel" on political issues? Surely the magna charta of American independence is the outcome of all the ages; it is an epoch in the development of humanity—the monument set up as a memorial of all progress hitherto made in human government: and it is fair to believe that whatever else perishes, the Declaration will survive the wreck of time.

SMOKE WITHOUT FIRE.

8. In the late exciting contest, to which reference has been made, the presiding authorities in some instances have been misunderstood. In other instances they have been misrepresented, which has led to a wrongful conception of their real views. It has been asserted too freely, and without foundation, that there has been a disposition on their part to interfere with individual liberty and to rebuke in some men a course which was applauded in others. In a word, that they have appeared to desire to assert and maintain an unjust and oppressive control over the actions of the members of the church, and in thus doing have endeavored to effect a union of church and state.

Why should there be so much smoke and no fire? It is singular that in this manifesto there is a large space taken up in repeated disclaimers like the foregoing wherein it is asserted that there has not been any desire or attempt to unite church and state; yet, as will be seen, in no place is there any definition of the sphere and function of either church or state. We can not tell what the chief authorities mean when they refer to one or the other. Doubtless they may have been misunderstood and misrepresented; but in a document put to the church and the "public generally," there should be full explanation made. We can, however, set out the rights and authority of the state; and we can ascertain with some certainty from this manifesto the rights and authority claimed for the priesthood; and it will be easy to measure the conflict, if any there be.

REITERATION.

9. In the heat of political discussion, assertions have been made and arguments used conveying to the public mind a false idea concerning the position of the officers of the Church, and leaving the impression that there has been and was now being made an attempt to accomplish the union above referred to.

This last paragraph seems to be a repetition of the previous one in substance. If the published report of the high council meeting at Logan were true history, would the people, with all their "misunderstanding and misrepresentation," be very far wrong in charging the authorities with serious and unwarrantable intermeddling with politics and the state? It does not seem that they would; and what is more—there are so many testimonials of the correctness of the report of the meeting that denials seem quite useless.

EXPLANATION PROPOSED.

10. Now that the excitement has passed, and calmer reason has resumed its sway, we think it prudent to set forth, so that all may understand, the exact position occupied by the leading authorities of the Church.

Here is an appeal to reason and intelligence. A judicial frame of mind, calm and dispassionate, is invoked. The authorities have acted in the late "political contest" in accordance with the teachings, rules and precedents of the church; and it is all an object lesson setting forth the authority and sphere of priesthood. They propose to find a panacea for all political differences, ills and controversies in the faith and usage of the church; and all this is to be applied by "counsel."

GENERAL DENIAL AS TO UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

11. In the first place we wish to state in the most positive and emphatic language that at no time has there ever been any attempt or even desire on the part of leading authorities referred to to have the church in any manner encroach upon the rights of the State, or to unite in any degree the functions of the one with those of the other.

There is really no occasion for "positive and emphatic language." It is not a question of vehemence or asseveration, but one of the facts and the philosophical significance of those facts —whether they are in their nature and operation an infringement on the sphere of the state. It is not a question for which denial or affirmation are at all competent. It is a case which

turns on the significance of facts, just as the legal import of a document is determined as judicially interpreted, and not by any amount of affirmation as to what the document signifies. Whether the "rights of the priesthood," as set forth in this manifesto, are in conflict with the rights of the state, is to be decided, not by "positive and emphatic language," but by an examination of the rights and principles on each side, and by critical comparison to determine whether they conflict either in essence or in operation.

AN OBJECT LESSON.

12. Peculiar circumstances have surrounded the people of Utah. For many years a majority of them in every portion of the territory belonged to one Church, every reputable member of which was entitled to hold and did hold some ecclesiastical office. It is easy to see how, to the casual observer, it might appear singular that so many officers of the church were also officers of the State; but while this was in fact the case, the distinction between church and State throughout those years was carefully maintained. The president of the church held for eight years the highest civil office in the community, having been appointed by the national administration governor of the territory. The first secretary of the territory was a prominent church official. An apostle represented the territory in Congress as a delegate during ten years. The members of the Legislature also held offices in the church. This was unavoidable; for the most suitable men were elected by the votes of the people, and, as we have stated every reputable man in the entire community held some church position, the most energetic and capable holding leading positions. This is all natural and plain enough to those who consider the circumstances; but it furnished opportunity for those who were disposed to assail the people of the territory to charge them with attempting to unite church and State. A fair investigation of the conditions will abundantly disprove the charges and show its utter falsity.

During the period described the more important offices were appointive rather than elective, so that only to a limited degree would office holding came under the supervision of counsel. When the People's party was in vogue, everybody knows, and nobody so well as the leaders, that the policy and energy and all necessary manipulation were under the control of the church authorities. The lamb would be all there, but it would be inside the lion. It might be said, as it is frequently said in this manifesto, that the "distinction" between the lamb and the lion was carefully preserved. It might be, and yet the lamb might be inside. So that there is something to be said of relation as well as distinction. If the state is inside the genius and power of the church, as in papal Rome; or if the church is inside the state as in Russia; in either case the relation is one of inclusion. The true relation is that of equality and independence.

When "every reputable member was entitled to hold and did hold some ecclesiastical office," and all offices and members were under priestly counsel as to all the affairs of life, both temporal and spiritual, how could there be a state within the meaning of the Declaration of Independence? How could there be a democratic state when life is drawn from the church through the unbiblical cord of counsel?

It used to be a question for debate, whether or not the relation of master and slave is sinful. Some attempted to settle the question by proofs as to usages and customs of antiquity, whether Jew or Gentile; but it remained to the quickening of the sensibilities, the awakening of conscience and the diffusion of the love of Christ to enable mankind to perceive that the slave relation is in itself essentially wrong, abnormal and sinful. In like manner, if we lift aloft the charter of American liberty, and men see in its light that they are created in the divine image and equally endowed with the rights of humanity, superstition and serfdom fall away, independence and self-reliance are enthroned, and the state absolves itself from ecclesiastical thralldom.

No need to say above that because there were so many church people in civil offices there would need to be a suspicion of union between church and state. The only question is: Were they in office in conformity with and in subordination to counsel? If they were, the state was made tributary to the church.

If every civil officer in the United States were also an officer in the church, that fact would prove nothing in regard to a union of church and state. During all the above described period was counsel given as to who should, and who should not, hold office? It ought to be clear that so far as civil affairs are shaped and governed by the counsel of the church there is an absorption of the state by the ruling authorities.

RENEWED ASSURANCES AS TO NON-INTERVENTION IN THE STATE.

13. On behalf of the Church of which we are leading officials, we desire again to state to the members and also to the public generally, that there has not been, nor is there, the remotest desire on our part or on the part of our coreligionists to do anything looking to a union of church and state.

In this paragraph "the public generally" is taken into consideration and assured by the church that there is no desire, even the remotest "to do anything looking to a union of church and state." As remarked under the Eleventh paragraph, "this

is not a question wherein any amount of affirmation, however positive and emphatic, is a means of solution." It depends upon the meaning of facts and conditions.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

14. We declare that there has never been any attempt to curtail individual liberty—the personal liberty of any of the officers or members of the Church.

There might be no desire or attempt to "curtail" or diminish or repress individual liberty, yet there might at the same time be a desire and a purpose to mould and redirect that individual liberty by methods and influences that might be either proper or improper. If a man is convinced of the truth of a mathematical economic, or industrial problem by a demonstration or explanation that lies within the sphere of that problem, no difference who furnishes the proof, whether his priest or his school teacher, it is all right. But if a priest, because of his priestly authority, were to dictate to a man in mathematics, economy or politics without furnishing appropriate reasons to appeal to the man's understanding, there would be a wrong done the man's intelligence and individual liberty. His liberty would not be "curtailed," but it would be directed and controlled by wrong methods.

A man might have a firm determination to pursue a certain course; and he might, by means of proper advice and enlightenment resolve upon the opposite course and pursue that as earnestly as he would the first determined upon. It is the purpose of the Christian gospel to change every man's mind from determinations that are wrong to those that are in harmony with his better nature and with the right and true everywhere. A man thus changed is under law, but it is "the law of liberty;" for obedience under this law springs from a soul inspired with the universal harmony. His individual liberty is not "curtailed" but renewed and redirected by right methods.

If the "chief authorities" were to publish books setting forth the facts of history and the principles of government, and such books were circulated among the Mormon people thereby determining to a considerable extent their political status and action; there would in such case be no infringement upon individual liberty or the state, if the literature sent out were true, if no dictation or preference were indicated, and if the people received it purely on its merits and with no coloring of priestly authority accompanying it. That is, if men's minds were left

free from any influence, other than that of scientific truths and principles, it would be all right; the people would be left free to judge and act under the operation of "the law of liberty" as revealed to them by the light of history and governmental science.

But if the people should receive such books under a species of priestly glamour; and if, because they came from the chief authorities, the people believed they must be infallibly inspired and divinely authoritative—in such cases the people would be brought into bondage. There would be no apprehension of "the law of liberty." There would be blind fealty to a fetish, the servitude of ignorance, bigotry and superstition.

Hence the "chief authorities" should realize what a delicate and responsible position they occupy in relation to that large number of people who regard their utterances as inspired, and who would think it irreverent and sinful to doubt or question anything coming from the head of the church. They stand ready to surrender their judgment and individual independence, and thus they would put themselves beyond the pale of "the law of liberty."

Thre are few men living, possibly none, who are entitled to more regard for earnestness and integrity than Wilford Woodruff. Yet, if Wilford Woodruff were to go out upon the street on election day in the earlier part of the day, and in the presence of multitudes cast his vote in a way that would seem open, spectacular and demonstrative; and if the fact of his voting in such a way and with such a party were telegraphed all over the state; and if the incident as telegraphed were used at many polling places during the remainder of the day and voters were thereby induced to cast their votes in the same way—why, a great wrong would be done, the state would be encroached upon, religion and priesthood would be made the means of superstitious enthrallment.

Surely a great and difficult work is laid at the door of the chief authorities to divest themselves and disclaim a homage from zealous followers which in its very essence is inimical to American institutions.

EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING COUNSEL.

15. The First Presidency and other leading officers did make certain suggestions to the people when the division on party lines took place.

"The first presidency and other leading officers:"—Whatever they said or did, it would be taken by "the people" as coming to

them with all the insignia and credentials of authority and inspiration. They would be largely bound and guided by it.

They "did make certain suggestions." As to whether right or wrong, those "suggestions" would depend on what they were. About the only kind of "suggestions" that could be rightly made would be concerning the nature of government, the duty of the people to become faithful, true and competent citizens, the importance of understanding all questions of government, the necessity of independence and self-reliance; and above all, the first presidency should lay the foundation stone of American citizenship in the minds of "the people" by reminding them of the Declaration of Independence—a flash of inspiration and true manhood from the very throne of God himself—that men are by God created free and equal; that they are divinely endowed with inalienable rights of life, liberty and happiness; that they must stand up in their own manhood and refuse to bow their heads to kings or priests; that they must be sovereigns in their own right; that they must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; that henceforth the spheres of church and state should be kept separate. But did the first presidency make such suggestions as these?

It was at the time "when the division on party lines took place" that "certain suggestions" were made, presumably in order to shape the division. If there were any biases or party preferences in the minds of the first presidency they will, to some extent at least, appear in the sequel!

NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES.

16. **That movement was an entirely new departure.**

Here is a very significant concession—that division into parties and independent action as citizens "was an entirely new departure." There had been voting and other party action at Nauvoo; but there was no division into independent parties there; it was run by "counsel" as it was under the People's party regime in Utah. There was a long period of office holding in Utah as set out in the foregoing section; but there was no division on national party lines. It was all done under the dictates of church counsel. Now comes a new state of things, a "new departure." There is a new wine for the people. Will it be put into new bottles? Will there be new rules and regulations? Or will the old bottles—the old rules and regulations of "counsel"—be patched up for the new state of Utah? A study of the

manifesto reveals the fact that old bottles and old customs and usages are to hold the new wine of Utah statehood.

A QUESTION OF MOTIVE.

17. And it was necessary in order that the full benefit should not be lost which was hoped to result from this new political division, that people who were inexperienced should be warned against hasty and ill-considered action.

That "full benefit" was statehood containing by implication many other things that were regarded as beneficial. Hence we have a clue to the procedure of certain officials who went about dividing the people into parties, saying—"Zion wants your votes," "Zion wants statehood." We find that the people were about equally divided between the Democratic and Republican parties; and it would look a little strange, after the visit of one of the "dividing officials" to a town to see the next day some "unterrified" sage brush Democrat posing as a genuine Republican. And as late as October, 1895, several minor officials gave out to near friends that they belonged to the "reserve corps," supposed to be a convenient means of holding the balance of power between the parties.

Beneath the politics of the national parties there was a statehood politics, covering certain maneuvering in order to attain the "full benefit." This statehood politics called for the equalizing of parties; hence the counseling of some officials to go out and speak to the people; and the counseling of other officials to stay at home and keep silent; hence the bargaining with party managers abroad, in short there were a thousand things included in this statehood project that could not have come down from that "Son of God" whose name is so often used to give sanction to the wily schemes of man.

If the motive had been to enlighten the people thoroughly; to promote the spread of true political knowledge; to qualify men and women for self government and useful citizenship—if such had been the motive set out in the manifesto, we could but regard it as worthy of the church, or of Christ himself.

Whatever the "full benefit," it was necessary in order to its attainment "that people who were inexperienced should be warned against hasty and ill considered action." Here we see no reference to instilling principles into their minds in order that they might be rightly guided. All that is told us suggests that the people were to be marched about and generaled into the accomplishment of some plan or scheme of priestly counsel. The

first presidency seem to be considering actions and results to be gained and controlled directly, rather than the political and civil enlightenment of the mind whereby alone the true results in action should be sought to be attained.

OPERATIONS OF COUNSEL.

18. In some cases they were counseled to be wise and prudent in the political steps they were about to take, and this with no idea of winning them against their will to either side.

"Counseled to be wise and prudent." Does this mean, counseled (that they ought) to be wise and prudent; or counseled (so as) to be wise and prudent? Probably the latter; for it would avail but little to tell people to be wise and prudent without giving them a knowledge of what would be wisdom and prudence under the circumstances. As the "full benefit" was statehood and what appertained thereto, we may well suppose that "to be wise and prudent" included a disclosure of the "political steps" that would lead up to that consummation.

"With no idea (purpose) of winning them against their will to either side." No, it is not the nature of counsel to win a person against the will; rather does it operate to convince the will, remove objections, and thus with the consent of the will direct their political steps, or their movements in any other department of life.

In the foregoing sentence, number 17, the "inexperienced" were counseled against "hasty and ill considered action." In the sentence under consideration, "in some cases," they were counseled "to be wise and prudent." Why not in both cases? Does not wisdom and prudence answer the purpose precisely to counteract "hasty and ill considered action?" From what follows it will be more clearly seen that the writer of the manifesto has unconsciously written a good deal between the lines; and "to be wise and prudent" in this passage means to be wise in planning methods to achieve statehood.

As it afterwards turned out, statehood would have been more easily secured, if there had been no plans or schemes forced upon the people. They were counseled "to be wise and prudent," and they were required to do certain things; but if no counsel whatever had been given and the people had been left to their own judgment and inclination, statehood would have been more promptly secured. For while the incidents referred to in the manifesto were happening in 1890-91, there was a great overturning of parties in 1892. The president and congress were

changed from one side of politics to the other. And if Utah had not been thrown into a different political relation she would have been in harmony with president and congress in 1893, and statehood would have come more promptly than it finally did.

One leading brother announced at Paris, Idaho, that he had received a political prophecy. He had it by a revelation, he claimed, that Cleveland would never be president of the United States again, although nominated at that time. Of course he was mistaken; but the matter that concerns us here is the tendency at that time to construe the counsel of certain leaders as being inspired, and the inclination to get supplementary inspirations to aid the leaders in controlling the political action of the people. It is a matter of congratulation that statehood was attained; but it did not need that the means and plans "suggested" by counsel should have been adopted, or even thought of.

TO THE LAW AND THE TESTIMONY.

19. To this extent, and no further, was anything said or done upon this question, and at no time and under no ciacumstances was any attempt made to say to voters how they should cast their ballots. Any charge that has been made to the contrary is utterly false.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this memorial to discuss what might be termed "statehood politics," were it not that the whole matter obtains a certain degree of importance in relation to the political character and conduct of Moses Thatcher. It was widely known that he was not in harmony with some of his brethren in relation to the policy to be pursued, and that was finally decided upon by superior authority. Only those who were fully advised could have located the trouble; but enough was generally known to mitigate the surprise awakened in the public mind by the disclosures made in the Salt Lake Tribune of May 10 concerning the priesthood meeting at Logan. It may be remarked here that the report is substantially correct, and in very many cases the exact words are used:

"Joseph F. Smith was the next speaker. He said that Moses Thatcher's attitude all through the political fight in Utah could not be justified; that he had been the one apostle who had refused to take counsel as to how the people should be divided up; that the first presidency and all the twelve but Thatcher had decided upon a certain policy to get the relief they needed from the government; but Thatcher had stood out against them; that he had been opposing his brethren ever since the division on party lines, and had not been in harmony with his quorum."

Joseph F. said further that the meeting called in the Gardo ouse to consider the advisability of disbanding the People's

party was attended by many of the authorities, stake presidents and leaders of the People's party.

It was plainly stated at this meeting that men in high authority who believed in Republican principles should go out among the people, but that those in high authority who could not indorse the principles of Republicanism should remain silent. Their counsel was obeyed by all the apostles and high authorities except Moses Thatcher, who talked to the people contrary to the wishes of his brethren. If it had not been for his condition, Moses Thatcher would have been called to account for his declaration in the opera house, (here giving Thatcher's declaration of political independence), but if he ever became able he would have to answer for that as well as other things they proposed to charge against him.

"And I want to tell you now," said Joseph F., "that Moses Thatcher was only admitted to the dedication of the Salt Lake temple after long hesitation; he only got in 'by the skin of his teeth.'" The speaker said that the only concession Moses Thatcher ever had made was that he would always submit to the will of the majority, but would not admit that he was wrong, although all his brethren voted against him.

Right here George W. Thatcher interrupted Joseph F. to say:

"Brother Joseph, will you allow me to make a statement?"

The permission was granted and George W. Thatcher said:

"My brother is very sick, and it does not seem right to make these charges against him behind his back. I have no knowledge of these matters, and cannot defend him against you; but I love my brother and do not like to have him treated this way."

Joseph F. continued by saying that he, too, loved Moses Thatcher, and wouldn't have taken the matter up if Heber J. hadn't started it.

George W. Thatcher then asked Joseph F. if he meant to say that Moses Thatcher was at the meeting in the Gardo House referred to, and the answer was:

"Yes, I am positive, and I have related exactly what took place at that meeting."

It is scarcely necessary to assure the readers of this memorial that Moses Thatcher was not in attendance at that Gardo house meeting, but he is, nevertheless, under the ban of some of his brethren for his disregard of certain proposed "counsel" in relation to what they supposed to be his political duty.

And now the question arises: Was not Moses Thatcher wholly justifiable in the course that he chose to pursue? Will not history justify him? Will not men honor him for his independence? Will not God approve his fidelity and integrity? To ask such questions is to answer them. And even with respect to statehood, his course promised speedier success; for soon after that time the president and congress became Democratic. But it is not as a mere makeshift that the question must be

judged, but as a matter of principle and right. Mr. Thatcher took the right ground in the sight of God and his countrymen

HOW ABOUT CHURCH AND STATE?

Suppose the published report of the high council meeting at Logan is substantially correct as to the language ascribed to the several speakers; suppose the "division" was accomplished about as described—that certain men were counseled to go out and speak and organize, and that certain other men were counseled to stay at home and hold their peace; suppose the parties were put into array in conformity with arrangements entered into between the "authorities" and certain prominent politicians; suppose statehood were secured by carrying out such a program;—what should our judgment be as to the leading authorities encroaching upon the sphere of the state?

Of course it might be said that by all such means certain leaders were counseled so as "to be wise and prudent;" but is this the wisdom that comes from above, from "the Father of Lights with whom there is neither variableness or shadow of turning?" To send out men for one side to speak and organize, and keep the leaders of the opposite side at hime, is to play the game with loaded dice. How does such a procedure differ in moral quality from the simple ordering up of a majority for either party as the circumstances required? If these things were done as narrated at Logan, or in any other way that produced the same result by means of "counsel," how can the authorities escape the judgment of mankind that they have trespassed, in no very exalted way, upon the sphere of the state?

BEGETTING A STATE.

20. Concerning officers of the Church themselves, the feeling was generally expressed in the beginning of the political division spoken of that it would be prudent for leading men not to accept of office at the hands of the political party to which they might belong. This counsel was given to men of both parties alike—not because it was thought that there was any impropriety in religious men holding civil office, nor to deprive them of any of the rights of citizenship, but because of the feeling that it would be better under all the circumstances which had now arisen to avoid any action that would be likely to create jealousy and ill-feeling.

"Concerning officers themselves." In foregoing paragraphs the manifesto has been speaking with reference to the people at large as led about and divided into parties by the chief officials. Here they deal with "officers themselves."

And why must officers in the church abstain from holding office in the state? Note that the time here indicated is about 1890. In a former lengthy paragraph, number 12, we are told concerning a period of near 40 years, during which the people of Utah enjoyed a tranquil reign of church officials without having in the least degree obliterated or trespassed upon "the distinction between church and state."

Why should there be a feeling in the beginning of the political division spoken of that it would be prudent for leading men not to accept office at the hands of the political party to which they might belong?" Why should it "create jealousy and ill feeling?" Why was "this counsel given" at this particular time "to men of both parties alike?"

There is a very good and sufficient reason between the lines for all this:—During all the long period of forty years before mentioned, there was the church; and within its counsel was the semblance of a state; but so far as it was a state by Mormon votes, it drew its life from the guidance and authority of the priesthood. The people knew this. They knew that in a general way they voted for whomsoever the church wished elected.

Now that the Mormon people were to be divided up with the Gentiles into parties, they could not very well decide between church officials, many of whom had previously been in the habit of dictating to them as members of the People's party. They had formerly looked upon the dictation of each one of the chief officials as inspired. Now they would have to decide between the leading authorities and they would even have to consider the attitude of the first presidency. Here was indeed a chance for confusion, jealousy and ill feeling!

The "counsel" is now given to the effect that the chief officers go back on the precedents that have guided them for forty years, and keep out of politics. This was probably good counsel under the circumstances. "Let all the chiefs who have been in the habit of dictating to the people, now abstain from becoming political leaders, so that the chosen people shall not become confused in the matter of priestly authority.

A far better way—a truer, nobler, more American way—a way more in accord with the Declaration of Independence—was that pursued by Moses Thatcher; to let the people go free in political matters; to absolve them from all dictation and counsel; to let the state alone, as we allow the moon to freely move in her orbit; to let every Mormon brother stand up in his own manhood and God-given right as an American citizen.

A STATEHOOD GLAMOUR.

21. An era of peace and good will seemed to be dawning upon the people, and it was deemed good to shun everything that could have the least tendency to prevent the consummation of this happy prospect.

"The consummation!" Not that the world was about to end; but the struggle of half a century would culminate in statehood, and Zion would be enlarged. The meaning is that the leadership of high church officials in politics would be likely to work confusion, and as a consequence prevent the "consummation," the "full benefit." At first, all such officials were counseled to abstain from political leadership. This counsel was to be good up to the attainment of statehood. The next regulation is that all must be guided by counsel as to matters of state. This rule puts church officers—and all are officers—back into the People's party regime. The index on the dial of liberty is put back forty years!

WEAKNESS AND DIVIDED COUNSELS.

22. In many instances, however, the pressure brought to bear upon efficient and popular men by the members of the party to which they belonged was of such a character that they had to yield to the solicitation to accept nomination to office, or subject themselves to the suspicion of bad faith in their party affiliations.

No, that was not the true reason. There had been a rule made that "all the leading authorities should keep out of politics." Now, if the chief authorities had themselves firmly adhered to the rule, and had set an example of faithfulness and consistency, there would have been no trouble whatever. No "solicitations" to recive nominations would have been a temptation.

After the rule was made, there was "counsel" given that was in violation of the rule. One side in politics was counseled to go out to the people and promote that side; and the other side in politics was "counseled" to stay at home and keep silent.

When a rule is made by a certain authority, and by the same authority the rule is changed so as to apply to only one-half of the people subject to the rule, by all the dictates of right reason the rule is nullified. Otherwise there could be no government, no administration of justice. Whoever should be dealt with in this way would know that his rights as an American citizen were trifled with.

It would have been better to have discarded all political control over the people and let them go absolutely free; but when it was resolved to promote one side, this would in honor release the other side; and any free man would resent restraint imposed by a partial and inequitable rule.

CONFLICTING COUNSELS.

23. In some cases they did this without consulting the authorities of the church; but where important positions were held, and where the duties were of a responsible character, some did seek the counsel and advice of the leading church authorities before accepting the political honors tendered them.

Note that in the beginning of the division movement, as stated above in section 20, the chief officials were prohibited from accepting civil offices because of the likelihood of arousing "jealousies and ill feeling," and also for fear of imperilling the "consummation." But in this section some did seek counsel and some did not. Now how could it have a tendency to allay "ill feeling" and disarm "jealousies" to know that any leading official had not only gone into politics, but had been instructed by counsel to go into politics. The fact is, it would have the contrary effect," and it actually did have that effect; for time and again individuals and committees appeared before the first presidency and complained of their unfairness in allowing certain men to go into politics to the exclusion of others.

Here it is that "counsel" seems to disregard its own policy. For, it was stated a few lines above that for certain reasons—"jealousy and ill feeling"—leading men were to abstain from civil office. In this section all that seems to have been required was the seeking of "counsel," and counsel being obtained they were ushered into politics notwithstanding "jealousy and ill feeling."

The whole procedure is confused and conflicting. It is utterly impossible to gather any consitency or uniformity out of it. "When important positions were held, some did seek counsel before accepting, etc." They sought counsel, and according to the rule laid down above, they ought to have been forbidden the privilege; but they were elected; and the meaning between the lines is that they were helped into their position because they did seek counsel. All this is crooked and confused; it indicates no system and uniformity; and it can but be looked upon as reprehensible.

WITHOUT COMPASS OR RUDDER.

24. Because some others did not seek this counsel and advice, ill-feeling was engendered and undue and painful sensitiveness was stimulated; misunderstanding readily followed, and as a result the authorities of the Church were accused of bad faith and made the subjects of bitter reproach.

The writer is very much confused at this point. He is speaking of things connected with the "division movement." The reason given "for leading men not to accept office" was to "avoid any action that would be likely to create jealousy and ill feeling." Here we find the writer complaining that "ill feeling was engendered because some others did not seek this counsel and advice." This is not stating it consistently with what precedes. The counsel was given generally that all the leaders should stay out of politics. See above:—"This counsel was given to men of both parties alike." All must keep out. What is the trouble then? It should be stated thus: "Counsel was given and a rule made that all leaders should stay out of politics. Subsequently a different plan was adopted. It was thought best to favor a certain party, and the leaders that were favorable to that party were allowed to go out, and those that were not favorable to that party were counseled to stay at home. Some men that felt independent claimed that the original rule was nullified and that the whole plan was vitiated by partial, discriminating and conflicting counsels." Of course there might be ill feeling; but it would be because of divided counsels.

A REVISED EDITION.

25. We have maintained that in the case of men who hold high positions in the church, whose duties are well defined, and whose ecclesiastical labors are understood to be continuous and necessary, it would be an improper thing to accept political office or enter into any vocation that would distract or remove them from the religious duties resting upon them, without first consulting and obtaining the approval of their associates and those who preside over them.

"We have maintained." When? How long previously was the doctrine of submission and obedience put into this form? At the time of the "division" other reasons prevailed—the likelihood of "jealousies and ill feeling." Later on things went haphazard and a great partisan movement was inaugurated. There were divided counsels, insubordination and ill-feeling. Previous to "division," and throughout the long reign of the People's party, all faithful Mormons were, as a matter of faith and practice, subject to the chief leadership. They sought authoritative guidance in all the affairs of life, temporal and spiritual.

And when did the authors of the manifesto begin to put the doctrine of subordination and counsel in the precise form above stated? Never before did they claim that the duty of seeking counsel depended on the obligations and responsibilities involved in an office. The duty had always rested upon the relation of

subordination to the head of the church, and the obligation to obedience as in the kingdom of God. This change of reason for counsel and obedience is of importance as showing conscious need of some rational ground on which to base the universal obligation to submission and counsel.

AT WAR WITH AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

26. It has been understood from the very beginning of the Church that no officer whose duties are of the character referred to, has the right to engage in any pursuit, political or otherwise, that will divide his time and remove his attention from the calling already accepted. It has been the constant practice with officers of the Church to consult—or, to use our language, to "counsel"--with their brethren concerning all questions of this kind.

Here is the statement of the doctrine of counsel and submission as originally promulgated. They had no "right." They had relinquished all such secular rights. In order to be reinstated in those "rights" they must consult with brethren and with those in authority over them. In the former sentence this rule is modified and it is called an improper thing to accept office in the state. The earlier doctrine was that they had "no right" to do so.

But it is made very evident in this exposition of the duty of "counsel," how thoroughly and essentially it is at war with the individuality and independent manhood required by the Declaration of Independence. Just consider! Here in Utah is a majority in one church, every reputable male member of which holds some ecclesiastical office, all such members being bound to "counsel" with their brethren and especially with those that preside over them, and all this in relation to secular and political duty. Everyone relinquishes his individuality. He no longer acts from the dictates of his own will, but from the will of the church.

The chief authorities do not dictate to individuals how they shall vote; but they determine which of the officers shall accept nominations and which shall not; and with a large number of voters acting as a reserve corps, ready to be guided by the least intimation from the chief authorities, it is easy to see that any desired result can be predetermined.

WHY NOT?

27. They have not felt that they were sacrificing their manhood in doing so, nor that they were submitting to improper dictation, nor that in soliciting and acting upon the advice of those over them they were in any manner doing away with their individual rights and agency, nor that to

any improper degree were their rights and duties as American citizens being abridged or interfered with.

The writer breaks down in the last clause of the foregoing long sentence:—"Nor that to any improper degree were their rights and duties as American citizens being abridged or interfered with." There is a "degree" in which they feel their rights abridged and interfered with; but it is not an "improper degree." How much is "proper;" and how much more will make it "improper?" Caesar's wife was to be "above suspicion." How much latitude could there be until it would become "improper."

No, a good many that have been bound hand and foot for lo! these many years with the two fold cord of church counsel, begin to feel now that in nature and essence it stands opposed to the spirit of American freedom and independence, and that their manhood and individuality are sacrificed by being required to submit for guidance to a junta of the church.

PRIESTLY OFFICES AND AUTHORITY.

28. They realized that in accepting ecclesiastical office they assumed certain obligations; that among these was the obligation to magnify the office which they held, to attend to its duties in preference to every other labor, and to devote themselves exclusively to it with all the zeal, industry and strength they possessed, unless released in part or for a time by those who preside over them.

In the Mormon church "every reputable member" is entitled to hold office. So says the manifesto, and this is the general understanding. The not holding some office is a suggestion of disrepute. In fact, holding an office of some kind seems necessary in the Mormon church as an evidence of full and reputable membership. But most of the officials, almost all indeed, receive no compensation whatever.

When persons agree to perform certain work for a certain compensation, they are amenable to those who employ them, for a faithful discharge of their duties; and for neglect or non-performance they are justly liable to discharge or some other expression of demerit.

Thus if a man is employed by a mercantile company or a church committee to do a certain work, he is bound to do it, and to make reparation for neglect of duty or lost time. If an employee desired to devote time that was unemployed or uncontracted for by the company or committee to other work, it would be his right and privilege to do so. All that his employers could require would be performance of duty; all that they could censure him for would be neglect or non-performance of

the duties for which they had employed him. If his employers demanded the right to control his unemployed time, so as to say what he should or should not do during the hours for which he was not under contract to them, they would then trespass on his rights, and he would be under no obligation to yield to them.

Of course the great majority of the officers of the Mormon church have duties to perform that require but little of their time, and almost none at all of their week day time, and none are required to make special preparations in order to address the people. Nearly all officers make their living and support their families by some secular occupation or profession. A number of the apostles even are laborious and thrifty business men devoting a large share of their time to secular work.

Under such circumstances it is wholly preposterous for the chief authorities to claim the right to dictate to a member or an officer in reference to the time that is naturally and ordinarily taken up with secular occupation in order to earn a living for the individual himself and his family. If a man is a farmer, he devotes some of his time to church duties, but he seldom neglects his farm occupations. If he is elected to a civil office, he devotes even less time to his office than he formerly did to his farm.

What reason or justice is there in the claim that because a farmer, a merchant or an artisan devotes a small portion of his time to church duties, that therefore a priesthood must pass upon his right to devote the secular part of his time to some kind of civil service? Is it not evident at a glance that such claims are unreasonable and tyrannical?

All that a priesthood having charge of church affairs can demand of a subordinate officer, is that he perform his duty properly. All that they can justly and honorably do in the way of discipline is because of neglect or non-pefrormance of duty. Because a man is commissioned to devote a fraction of his time to the church, they can not have a right to dictate how he shall employ the balance of his secular time. All such claims savor of capricious and unprincipled monarchy.

A SERIOUS PENALTY.

29. Our view, and it has been the view of all our predecessors, is that no officer of our church, especially those in high standing, should take a course to violate this long-established practice. Rather than disobey it, and declare himself defiantly independent of his associates and his file leaders, it has always been held that it would be better for a man to resign the duties of his priesthood; and we entertain the same view to-day.

But in the Mormon church more than any other, perhaps, the priesthood constitutes the life and significance of the church; and to be deprived of priesthood as a matter of discipline reflects to the man's discredit, and thus becomes a penal alternative.

In such a case, the member deprived of official standing as a punishment, is in little better condition than an open apostate. He must feel the confidence and respect of the Church are withdrawn from him, for his loyalty to liberty has led him to refuse to do what all the other members of the priesthood have done, some willingly and others through fear and compulsion. Thus his patriotism ostracizes him. It marks him out as unpleasantly peculiar and unbrotherly in the Church. It makes him a target for unkind and unwise criticism on the part of those who have not studied and thought upon the question, and who are consequently unable to understand and appreciate his motives.

Why is it that no American Protestant Church has ever made such demands upon minor officers? A deacon or an elder in a Presbyterian Church, or a minor officer in any other Protestant Church, is at libeaty to conduct his secular affairs as he sees proper, so that he abstains from those forms of business that are denounced as vicious and immoral by the churches. Would the members and minor officers of any American Pretestant Church tolerate any such rule as is here sought to be enforced? No. They would rebel against it instantly. Neither would the Catholic Church either attempt or care to enforce such a rule. Is it reasonable that the Mormon Church, which is now greatly in the majority in a State that has just attained Statehood, should enact a rule that is more exacting, more liable to abuse and temptation, than that of any other church in the Western Hemisphere?

All these evil consequences and possibilities could have been avoided by framing a rule in harmony with the circumstances as they actually exist in the Mormon Church. There are a few officers that are supposed to devote the most or all their time to Church work. These are the First Presidency, the Apostles, the Presidents of the Seventies, and a very few others. These, by the custom and consent of the Church, receive certain amounts for their temporal needs, perhaps only enough to partially support them, the balance to be procured through some secular occupation. It is reasonable to require that these men confine themselves to Church work, and that

they should not engage in politics so long as they continued in ecclesiastical office.

But as to the vast number of members who are minor officers in the Church, deacons and elders and bishops of wards, it is utterly unreasonable and tyrannical to control their secular time or business occupations because of their membership in the lower priesthood to which all male members in good standing are eligible. All that could be required in justice and right would be sincere devotion to duty, and discipline for neglect and non-performance of duty.

It is now generally known that a large proportion of the higher officials in the Church were in favor of a regulation in accordance with the foregoing principles; but in this they were overruled, and the present rule was promulgated. Certainly Mr. B. H. Roberts' bold and manly words last fall were decidedly against such a regulation; and those thousands of independent and liberty-loving Mormons who agreed with him then will be slow to accept the contrary doctrine with full purpose of heart. It is apparent at a glance that the rule now proclaimed achieves a purpose that could not have been subserved by a rule that would prohibit high officials from entering politics. The difference is that the rule now laid down puts all the officials of the Church under a control that is to all intents and purposes in the hands of a centralized power, a power that can say to one, "come," and he cometh; to another, "go," and he goeth.

If this rule gets to working efficiently in all the regions where the Mormon Church is now in the ascendency, and in those States where it holds the balance of power, it may be made the means of accomplishing important political results. Our Presidential elections are so close at times that a few votes in the electoral college turns the scale. Under this rule an ambitious leadership could easily determine the political status of one or more States, and thus decide a Presidential contest. As a matter of money such a power would be worth millions of a corruption fund; but its exercise would imperil the peace and safety of the commonwealth; its existence would be a menace to free institutions; and to destroy it, the whole country, if necsssary, would desolate our fair valleys and fill every house with mourning.

CLEARING THE DECK FOR ACTION.

30. In view of all the occurrences to which reference has been made, and to the diversity of views that have arisen among the people in conse-

quence, we feel it to be our duty to clearly define our position, so there may be no cause hereafter for dispute or controversy upon the subject.

By the constitution of the Mormon church, a solemn declaration like this manifesto commits the priesthood to a certain line of action which would be continuous and unchanged except as subsequently modified by some equally solemn declaration.

The authorities aim to have "no dispute or controversy" as to their position. Yet their document is so redundant and ambiguous, both in the rule itself which follows, and in the grounds laid for the rule, that there could be no end of doubt and controversy; unless indeed, which sems possible, the whole subject should die away in importance and effectiveness until it ceases to be an authoritative regulation. The light of liberty and popular education is growing and spreading too rapidly to permit a regulation so monarchical and undemocratic to flourish upon American soil and among a free people.

THE RULE OF COUNSEL.

First—We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the Church and by every leading official thereof, that before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn from them whether he can, consistently with the obligations already entered into with the Church upon assuming his office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibility.

This rule is to be perpetuated: it is "always to be observed." It applies to every member of "the church;" and it specially applies to "every leading official thereof." It applies to "any position, political or otherwise," that the member would wish to enter upon. It applies to any "nomination" to civil office. All of these may be construed to "interfere with the proper and complete discharge of ecclesiastical duties." Before accepting any such new occupation the member must apply to the "proper authorities" for permission. They propose to decide whether the new duties will be compatible with the performance of church duties already assumed.

The grounds on which this rule is laid is that certain duties are already assumed, and that when new employments are undertaken the authorities must decide upon their compatibility with existing obligations. In this way every officer and member, male and female, is bound to seek counsel for every new step in political, civil or industrial affairs that it may be desired to take.

CHAPTER NINTH.

CASES AND PRINCIPLES IN CHURCH AND STATE.

ROBERTS AND THATCHER.

And now the question arises, was Moses Thatcher right in withholding his assent to the rule promulgated in the manifesto? He was willing at the outset, and possibly may still be of the same mind, to concur in the regulations whereby all the high officers in the church should remain entirely out of politics. But he was not willing to endorse a rule that makes it uncertain whether a man's political allegiance is first of all to the state or to the leading authorities of the church. It seems that Elder B. H. Roberts was of the same opinion as to the authority of the church. At the time of his political canvass last fall he was reported in the papers as follows:

"I believe the church has a right to say whether or not its high officials shall be allowed to participate in politics. If they decide that certain officials shall not enter politics, it is for those officers to submit to the regulation or resign. But if the church permits its high officials to enter politics at all, then those men ought to be absolutely free to follow their own discretion as to what their politics shall be and the extent to which they shall engage in the affairs of government, as anything short of this would render party loyalty impossible. I do not believe that Democratic officials ought to be expected to go to Republican church officials for counsel in political affairs, or vice versa. Such a requirement in our community would place the control of the respective parties under the church officials, and would give up political affairs entirely into their hands. I see no middle ground between absolute and complete retirement on the part of high Mormon church officials from politics, or else perfect freedom of conduct in respect to politics—trusting the individual's own discretion and judgment in political concerns."

Note Mr. Roberts' very significant language—"If high officials are permitted to enter politics, they must be left absolutely free to follow their own discretion." Again, "Democratic officials (Mormon) should not be required to go to Republican church officials for counsel in political affairs, or vice versa." Why? Mr. Roberts says "it would place the control of the re-

spective parties under the church officials, and would give up political affairs entirely into their hands." He says further, there must be "a complete retirement of Mormon church officials from politics, or else perfect freedom of conduct with respect to politics."

Of course, with such convictions as are above expressed, Mr. Roberts could in no wise sign the manifesto; and that he did finally sign it can only be explained by a state of facts similar to those reported by the papers, as having been set forth in the high council meeting at Logan, as follows:

Apostle Heber J. went on to say that the brethren had worked with B. H. Roberts for nine weeks before they brought him around. After the first protracted effort availed them nothing they gave him a couple of weeks to think the matter over, and counsel with the authorities at his leisure. When his period of reflection expired they met with him again, but found his heart like stone. They prayed with him and wept over him, but without avail. Another extension of time was given him, during which they all took up a labor with him, but he was still unwilling to admit that he had done wrong.

In the meantime Apostle Grant said, he and F. M. Lyman had been appointed a committee to persuade Roberts that he was in error. Day after day and night after night they went to him and wept and prayed, and he wept and prayed, but insisted that he had done no wrong. This continued for nine weeks, at the end of which time he yielded. One morning he appeared before the authorities and told them he was ready to acknowledge his wrong and would sign any paper they might ask him to sign, or do anything they might tell him to do.

Whether or not the foregoing statement is absolutely faithful to the facts in the case, is unimportant; though supposing the narrative to be strictly correct, there is nothing in it that is seriously derogaory to an honest man's character. It shows that there must be great pressure brought to bear upon a strong man ere he can surrender a deep and consistent conviction. It shows that a man must be harrassed and distressed and his nights filled with troubled dreams, ere he can do such a thing. Under such circumstances there remains an appeal from Mr. Roberts after nine weeks continuous agitation, to the same man when free and unobstructed, boldly and eloquently discussing the rights of church and state.

THE CASE OF MOSES THATCHER.

The charges against Moses Thatcher, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, were quite fully delineated at the stake

high council meeting at Logan, and they seem to be about as follows:

1—"Moses Thatcher's attitude all through the political fight in Utah could not be justified."

2—"He had been the one apostle who had refused to take 'counsel' as to how the people should be divided up."

3—"The first presidency and all the twelve but Thatcher had decided upon a certain policy to get the relief they needed from the government; but Thatcher had stood out against them."

4—"He had been opposing his brethren ever since the division on party lines; and had not been in harmony with his brethren."

5—"The meeting called in the Gardo House to consider the advisability of disbanding the People's party was attended by many of the authorities, stake presidents and leaders of the People's party. It was plainly stated at this meeting that men in high authority who believed in Republican principles should go out among the people, but that those in high authority who could not indorse the principles of Republicanism should remain silent. Their counsel was obeyed by all the apostles and high authorities except Moses Thatcher, who talked to the people contrary to the wishes of his brethren.

6—"If it had not been for his condition, Moses Thatcher would have been called to account for his declaration in the opera house, (here giving Thatcher's declaration of political independence,) but if he ever became able he would have to answer for that as well as other things they proposed to charge against him."

7—"The speaker said that the only concession Moses Thatcher ever had made was that he would always submit to the will of the majority, but would not admit that he was wrong, although all his brethren voted against him."

The last charge, No. 7, shows a wonderful concession on the part of Mr. Thatcher. While his judgment could not be convinced of the rectitude of such a plot as was hatched at the Gardo House, or of the righteousness of other plans for dividing the people like so many cattle and sheep; yet he was willing, according to democratic principles, to submit to the "will of the majority."

As to charge No. 6, his declaration at the opera house as given in preceding pages, that declaration is in harmony with the solemn pledges of the church, pledges which Moses Thatcher himself ratified most devoutly. What sort of justice or honor would

that be which would require him to renounce his own political faith, deny his own personal pledges and withal dishonor the covenants of his church?

In reference to charge No. 5, the whole recital is something so sepulchral and uncanny, so utterly out of harmony with the honor and rectitude of open daylight and honest business, that everybody will forget at once that it contains an accusation against a noble man, and only hope that such a seeming conspiracy against American institutions was never plotted.

All the other charges mean simply that Moses Thatcher had refused to concur in a plan adopted and promulgated at the Gardo house to divide the people into political parties according to a certain policy. He had been willing to keep entirely out of politics according to the rule first adopted; but when this was set aside and the Gardo House rule put in operation he refused to be bound by it; and for so doing he will have the approbation of posterity, and doubtless that of the God of all.

PLEASE EXPLAIN!

A great part of the manifesto is devoted to the subject of church and state; not that any attempt is made to define what is meant by the one or the other; but to make it clear by many and oft-repeated disavowals that no thought or desire or attempt has ever been made or ever will be made to unite church and state, or to permit the functions of the one to interfere with those of the other.

One is compelled to wonder what kind of a state is meant by the writers of the manifesto? Surely it can not be an American state! If you have not interfered with the state, how is it that you have controlled the politics of the parties by taking from one side and adding to the other until the state of Utah now ranks in a different organization and marches under a different banner from that of half a dozen years ago, or even less? Who made this variation? Surely it was made in great part by the church authorities.

If you did not wish to interfere with the state, why would you send out men to speak and organize for one side, while the leaders for the other side were commanded or counseled to keep silent? If you wish not to interfere with the state, why should you seek to punish Moses Thatcher for not co-operating with you by keeping silent while other leaders were converting his friends and neighbors to a new political profession?

If you wish not to interfere with the state, why do you encourage church members to be guided by your preferences in political matters? Why do you not disabuse the minds of the people and command them to be guided by their own thinking and their own preferences? Why should it be a matter of importance to the brethren all over Utah to know the position of the "chief authorities" on political matters?

If there has been no attempt to infringe on the state, why should there be any concern about political parties? Why should not one be as welcome as the other? And above all, why should the authorities wish to consult with every member in order to determine for him whether he shall accept an office or not? Suppose a certain farmer is a deacon or bishop in the church in which he holds membership, and that he is desirous of some civil office in his county. For twenty years he has lived on his farm and attended church on Sunday, giving thus a small portion of his time to ecclesiastical duty. Now, why should such a man be compelled to accept and hold a civil office under the authorization and control of his superiors in church office, on the plea that he held a little official position in the church, and for that reason he must submit all other duties and undertakings to the arbitrament of "counsel?"

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.

If the chief authorities are really desirous of keeping out of politics and abjuring the functions of the state, why should they ordain a rule that forever puts it within their power to control the state? Nearly every reputable male member of the Mormon church is an officer of some kind. The chief authorities are the authors of the policies that shape the "counsels" of all that are subordinate to them in the priesthood. Every reputable member is guided by the counsels of the chiefs, either directly or indirectly.

Now what is the magnitude and nature of this power? It extends to the whole population of the church. Within this radius it is practically absolute. Moreover the power is priestly—that is, it is paternal and patriarchal; just such power as should not be used in relation to the state.

But the inquiry arises—if the authorities do not want to control the state, why do they surround themselves with the means of doing it? Why do they place themselves in the very vortex of temptation? If the members are devoted and sincere, and if they submit to such a rule of counsel, there can be no doubt that

they are at the mercy of their superiors in office. With such power in their hands, it is the invariable verdict of history that those who hold it never fail to use it to achieve their own selfish ends.

It is not right in the sight of God for any man to hold political power over another man. It is not right in the sight of man; for long ago have men declared that "all are created equal;" all are endowed with the same "inalienable rights."

If the chief authorities had desired to frame a rule that would put the state out of danger in case an ambitious priesthood should arise, they might have done so by requiring that all the higher officials abstain from all forms of political advocacy and from all civil office; and they might further require faithful performance of duty in all minor offices, with discipline for neglect and non-performance of duty. For violation of the rule on the part of high officials, it might be required that they resign their places; and the same penalty could be exacted from minor officials for neglect or non-performance of duty.

In such a regulation the church would stand in a negative relation to the state. It would have no positive authorization to make. As the rule reads, the church authorizes the official to seek office. It commissions and qualifies him. It gives him a certificate of character to church people. It tells the members of the church that he is the one to vote for. If any member should defy this counsel he would be classed as an apostate, and his political prospects would be blasted. Thus the power of presenting officers to the state would be complete in the priesthood. It would swallow up the state completely. Not more absolute would be Rome of the middle ages, or England under Henry the Eighth. The only prevention would be the inability of the priesthood to enforce discipline.

But why should the chief authorities thus surround themselves with unnecessary burdens, and most of all with needless and perilous temptations? Surely, if they sought only "those things that are honest in the sight of all men," they would put away from themselves and their successors in office every possibility of wielding a political power so enormous and far reaching, so tempting to carnal ambition, so corroding and burdensome to such noble souls as are fitted by the divine spirit to be guides and expounders of eternal life.

CHURCH AND STATE FUNCTIONS.

The sphere of civil government extends to acts—external conduct. It commands the performance or non-performance of acts.

Civil government does not extend to the thoughts and beliefs and whatever constitutes the spirit world. The church is based upon the religious sentiments, and its true sphere is within the spiritual domain where alone sin and righteousness and morality prevail. Acts of themselves have no moral quality; and it is only as they exist in the thoughts, desires, intentions, that they have importance in the estimation of religion. If a man is insane, all his acts count for nothing, however good or evil they might be, were the man of sound mind. In the church acts are of importance only as evidences of good or bad states of soul. The church can take no cognizance whatever of the physical act of adultery; the state alone has jurisdiction over the outward act. But the church acts with reference to the purpose of heart which dictates the adultery. The outward act is the evidence of the internal state; and the church performs its work as having jurisdiction of the spirit and not with respect to external conduct. The state has no query whatever in regard to sin and righteousness. It looks to public order and welfare and has no eyes to see either sin or holiness.

The church may close its doors against a member because of certain acts, but it has jurisdiction only over the spirit, and the act is simply testimony as to what has been done in the heart out of which proceeds all good and evil.

Church and state may each do much to modify each other; but in doing this, each must remain and work in its own sphere. Thus the state may for its own preservation and welfare establish a school system that will mould civilization and transform all the beliefs and conceptions of men. In this way religious opinions and ordinances are greatly changed from age to age.

The state may enforce order and protect life and property everywhere, in the church assembly, at the altar—wherever human beings and property exist. But the state can not enforce the discipline or ritual of the church. It cannot order baptisms, communion and confirmation. It cannot pay preachers and provide houses of worship. And in speaking here of the state, we are enforcing the American conception of the state, with which only we have to do.

The church may modify and mould the state; it may change the characters of men and women; it may transform society and civilization; it may unseat presidents, abolish laws, defeat parties, inaugurate bloody and destructive wars. But how shall this be done? By working in its own sphere. By enlightening and

moving the souls of men and women. By laying within the soul of the citizen the foundations of character, will and purpose, thus giving the motive and incentive to action.

The church may teach principles that will surely build up or defeat a great political party, and thus rehabilitate the state. But it would depart from its sphere if it should use its priestly authority to control political action or manipulate parties. In modifying the state the church can only fulfill the office of a seer or revelator. It can within its own sphere reveal truths that will rock the state to its foundations, possibly overthrow it entirely. But the authority in this case is the authority of the truths revealed, not a priestly authority which adheres to the person of the priest.

There is an infinite difference between the priestly authority of the priest and the authority of truth itself. In a mathematical demonstration there is a sense of authority or self existence of truth that is called conviction. This authority is infinite and eternal, and it inheres in the nature and essence of the soul, and in the nature of universal spirit. But the authority of a priest is that of an official personage. The submission and obedience rendered him is that of a child to a parent. It is not the result of rational motive. In consenting to receive a man as a priest, we become children, and the priest stands as the heavenly Father. We take the prescription of the physician, not because we understand therapeutics, but because we consent to be ministered to as a child.

In the civil state men act from rational considerations and with reference to definite and practical ends. It is largely a question of experience. It turns on the operation of the law of cause and effect. Whatever the church does with reference to the state it should do by revelation of truth in reference to civil duty and the standard of character. If it should attempt priestly control over men, as children are controlled by a parent; or as the physician requires submission from a patient; it would then resort to priestly authority over civil action and inflict a grievous wrong against the state.

THE AMERICAN STATE.

Under the American system there are two distinct spheres for church and state, and they must be kept separate from inception to culmination. In the one sphere, according to the words of Christ, we must "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's;" and in the other we must "render unto God the things

that are God's." The foundation of the state is the individual souls of men and women created by God in his image and after his likeness, endowed in the nature of things with inalienable rights of life, liberty and happiness. These rights exist independently of government; they exist in order to government and a true government is an expansion and administration of these primal rights; and in proportion as governments accomplish this work they have a right to exist; and when they fail to do this they should be abolished. These principles as written by Jefferson are the magna charta of American liberty and they can never be abrogated.

The inception and origin of the state is the endowment of right with which God has constituted the soul. Hence the state does not get its right and power to exist from the church. The state is an original and independent inspiration; and however much it may blend with the church, there are two spheres, and neither one must subvert the other. Neither must one be subordinate to the other or dependent upon it. The state must not present officers to the church, as is done in all state churches; nor must the church present officers to the state as would virtually be the case under the manifesto.

The manifesto lays the foundation for a church regime similar in its significance and portent to that which prevailed under the People's party organization. It is more subtle in its workings—more deftly devised—but if unimpeded it could not fail to achieve results even more nicely and effectively that the former political machinery. It is very true that much would depend upon the character of the men to whose management the institutions of the church should be entrusted. With some only the good of the church would be sought; but with men of comprehensive and ambitious minds, both church and state would be covered by their administrations. There would necessarily be discrimination and choice; prejudices and preferences would enter into the work unconsciously; there would be a hundred avenues and inducements to fraud and oppression.

The state is largely made up of the laws, institutions and customs which we inherit from the past; it is also constituted in part by those who hold positions to frame and execute its laws. The state exists because of a vast number of functions the performance of which requires an election to office, and in most cases a prior nomination.

ANTAGONISM OF THE MANIFESTO.

The position of the manifesto is that so far as the state exists in its official functions it must hold its tenure in harmony with the "counsel" of the priesthood; that is, if the population were all Mormon, as a majority of the Utah population is, those who hold civil offices, or military either, would do so in conformity with, and in subordination to "counsel." No good Mormon would be found in office without the prior authorization of "counsel;" for if the manifesto is infallible, he would be a violator of the ordinance of God, and the church people acting in a civil capacity would be in duty bound to vote against him.

This "rule" as promulgated, provides a circle within a circle—a wheel within a wheel—and in the last anaylsis, a very few minds, or possibly one mind, presses the button and the body of the church does the rest. Thus the network of guidance and authority tends to destroy individuality and personal liberty. In this regard it conflicts with the equality and liberty incorporated in the Declaration of Independence.

The "principle" that vitalizes the doctrine of priesthood is that of theocracy dispensed through descending gradations of priestly officials. The "principle" that animates the American system is that every man and every woman is created in the image and likeness of God, in virtue of which each is a sovereign unit of the state. These two "principles," allowing that both are genuine, operate in different spheres neither of which may be made subordinate to the other. In the state each man must be a sovereign acting freely, independently and of equal right. There must be no hierarchy in a state, for every citizen is a king and a sovereign. The state must in nowise go to the church for its right to be or to do. In a true state no man could be elected to office, having been "counseled" thereto by the church; that is, if he held himself primarily at the disposal of the church he should not be accounted worthy of the state.

Perhaps the most important thought written by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence is that of the innate freedom and independence of each human being. It requires only a clear realization of the spirit of liberty as embodied in the Declaration of Independence to see and feel that a state receiving its officers and holding its tenure in accordance with the "counsel" of a church is in utter conflict with the genius of American government. There have been times in the past when the church, notably the Catholic church, has completely swallowed up the state, even to the literal putting of the foot

of the ecclesiastical ruler upon the necks of kings. At other times and places as in case of Queen Elizabeth, of England, and the czar of Russia at the present moment, the state has absorbed the church, and ecclesiastical dignitaries are shuffled about as mere puppets of regal power. In such cases church and state occupy but a single sphere. The lion and the lamb lie down together it is true, but the lamb is inside the lion.

CHAPTER TENTH.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHARGES BY LORENZO SNOW.

The managers of the case against Moses Thatcher must have had a keen sense of the fact that the consensus of public opinion was against them in the Thatcher deposition; for we find them hunting about for a subterfuge to give the semblance of a reason for opening up a magazine of obsolete and exploded charges against Thatcher; and the significant feature of it all is that their unwonted attack has been a boomerang that has spread dismay among their ranks. Probably they did not know the full import and history of the matters with which they were dealing. At all events the reaction leaves them in a far worse condition than before. But it is important here to notice the subterfuge that was employed to give opportunity for the managers, over the name of Lorenzo Snow, to amend their pleadings and file supplementary charges in order to stiffen up public sentiment against Thatcher. And in order to make the amended complaint more effectual, it is ordered to be read in many if not all the ward churches. A letter is written and a few young brethren are induced to adopt it as their own, and thus request Lorenzo Snow to give the "*primary cause* of Brother Thatcher's lack of harmony with his quorum." It seems that what was refused to the earnest pleadings of Moses Thatcher, was here given out by Lorenzo Snow to a few young men, apparently to gratify a mere curiosity. Here is the letter of the young men:

SALT LAKE CITY, November 20, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Twelve Apostles:

DEAR BROTHER:—As there has been much discussion over the correspondence between Moses Thatcher and yourself, and some of our own people are at sea in regard to the primary cause of Brother Thatcher's

ack of harmony with your quorum, leading to his excommunication therefrom, in behalf of a number of such persons we pen you this communication.

We are aware that the difficulty mainly rested with the twelve and one of its members, also that when action was taken in the case there was no need of your making further explanations. We can appreciate your abstinence from controversy on a purely Church matter through the public prints. But seeing that there appears to be a misapprehension of the facts in the case, and that many good people are liable, in consequence of that, to form incorrect conclusions, we respectfully ask you, if it be not inconsistent with any rule of the Church or of the council over which you preside, to make some public statement which will serve to place this matter in its true light before the Saints, and clear away the mists which, to some at least, seem to surround the subject of Moses Thatcher's deposition. As he has given to the world the private correspondence that passed between you and him in a Church capacity, is it fair, even to yourself and your associates, to leave the matter in its present condition and open to so much misconstruction? If you would make an explanatory statement through the *Deseret News*, we believe it would be highly esteemed by many others, as well as your brethren in the gospel.

NEPHI L. MORRIS,
ARNOLD G. GIAUQUE,
ARTHUR F. BARNES,
R. C. BADGER,
T. A. CLAWSON.

PRESIDENT SNOW'S ANSWER.

SALT LAKE CITY, November 30, 1896.

Messrs. Nephi L. Morris, Arnold G. Giauque, Arthur F. Barnes, R. C., Badger and T. A. Clawson:

DEAR BRETHREN—In response to your esteemed communication of the 20th inst., I have determined, after conference with several of the Apostles, to offer some explanations on the case of Moses Thatcher and comments on the correspondence to which you refer, through the columns of the *Deseret News*.

The Apostles did not view the publication of the letters that passed to and from Brother Moses Thatcher and them as calling for any controversy on their part. Nor did they think it a proper thing to give those ecclesiastical communications general publicity through secular newspapers. The letters bearing my signature were not prepared with a design for publication, whatever the others might have been—and were regarded as Church matters for the consideration solely of the respective parties. It is only because those letters have been given to the public, and because it seems, from what you say, that an improper impression has been made upon the minds of some people thereby, that I comply with the request to meet some of the statements they contain.

The evident purpose in publishing those communications was to excite public sympathy, and the unnecessary and superfluous appeals they contain convey the impression that they were concocted for that purpose. They were not relevant to the issue involved. Moses Thatcher was not on trial for his fellowship. Specific charges were not preferred either in

public or in private. The question was solely as to his standing as one of the Apostles, in consequence of his lack of harmony with the Quorum of the Twelve of which he was a member. That question he could have settled at any time if he had so desired, and that without a formal trial. By placing himself in harmony with his Quorum, in the spirit of humility and conformity with its rules, of which he was not in ignorance, he could have saved himself all the trouble and deprivation of which he complains.

THAT NEW MANIFESTO.

In his review of what he calls his case, he lays great stress on the matter of the declaration of principles, which he refused to sign after it had received the endorsement of the First Presidency, the Apostles (excepting himself), the seven Presidents of the Seventies, the Patriarch, and the Presiding Bishopric, comprising the general authorities of the Church. His excuse is that he had only about an hour and thirty minutes in which to consider it. Usually men do not require much time to consider a matter which they have always held to be right. There was nothing new in that document as it relates to Church discipline. It contains that which has always been an established doctrine of the Church. When the committee which prepared it submitted it to the other Church authorities, they signed it after reading without hesitation and without requiring time to deliberate. It embodies so manifestly a conceded and necessary rule that every one in harmony with the Church authorities accepted it at once, and the Church as a body has received and adopted it as an essential rule. Why should Moses Thatcher alone, of all the Church authorities, feel that he could not sign it, as he alleges, "without stultification?" Was not that in itself evidence that he was and had been out of harmony with his brethren? And are they not men as little disposed as any one living to stultify themselves, or to assent to anything wrong that is of vital importance to them and to the Church?

He charges that his letter refusing to sign the declaration was "suppressed." There was no suppression in the matter at all. The letter was not addressed to the Conference nor to the public. Out of mercy and compassion to him no reference was made to his contumacy at the Apri Conference, but his name simply dropped from the list of authorities presented. How could he have been sustained under the circumstances? There are six of the Twelve now living who voted for his appointment to the Apostleship. Not one of them would have sustained him for that position if it had been known that he then entertained views entirely out of harmony with those of that body. The letter addressed at that time to his associates was a deliberately composed communication showing that he was able to understand the document which he refused to sign, and his prompt publication of that letter, in a secular newspaper, shows that he had a deliberate intention to oppose the declaration and defy his brethren who promulgated it. But if he did not have sufficient time to consider the declaration at the April Conference, what about the six months which elapsed before the October Conference? Was not that time enough? During that interval he was visited by many of his brethren, some of them Apostles, and no change was effected, but he failed even to attend the October Conference, or to manifest a disposition to conform to the principle of the declaration.

It is true that he was in poor bodily health during that period. But he was not too ill to upbraid brethren who tried to impress him with the danger of his position, nor to accuse some of them of having "blanketed their conscience" in signing the declaration.

He states in his letters that he would have attended the October Conference if it had not been for the "assurances and reassurances" he had received that nothing would be done concerning his standing until his health should be restored. He then complains bitterly of the explanations given to the Conference as to his position and seeks to convey the impression that they were a breach of good faith.

ASSURANCES WERE FULFILLED.

The "assurances" to which he refers were faithfully fulfilled. He was left in statu quo. Every time it was shown that the condition of his health would not admit of his meeting with his quorum the question of his standing was postponed. But meanwhile he and his friends were not slow to talk about his associates and to convey unwarranted impressions concerning their course in his case. So much misunderstanding was thereby created that it became absolutely necessary to make some explanations that the Latter-day Saints might not be deceived. President Woodruff was so strongly impressed with this that he addressed the Conference on the subject and his statements were endorsed by several of the Twelve who followed him.

This was no "trial" of Moses Thatcher. It was simply a necessary explanation of his status. It involved the question of his lack of harmony with the Church authorities. His claim that he was publicly accused and therefore should have a public trial is astonishingly absurd. He was not accused in the sense of a trial or investigation. The fact of his lack of harmony with the authorities was explained and shown to be of much earlier date than his refusal to sign the declaration and his engaging in active politics. To place himself in harmony with the Twelve, or refuse to do so, required no "trial" either public or private. He did neither. Yet the assurances given him which he misconstrues were observed and his "case" was not called up untill he was able to appear.

It was but a few days after the Conference, even if it had entirely closed, before he appeared and spoke at public meeting as though he still held the authority in which he had not been sustained at Conference. This necessitated the announcement from the First Presidency through the *Deseret News* that he had no right to officiate in the priesthood while in his suspended condition.

THE TEMPLE INCIDENT.

Notwithstanding that announcement, when he chose to present himself to the authorities he presumed to attempt entrance to the Temple for that purpose, and at a time when the First Presidency as well as the Twelve met for the consideration of other Church matters and for holding their prayer circle. No one could attend but those of their own body, nor even enter the house unless in good standing. No member of the Church without the proper recommend can obtain admittance to the Temple, no matter how much he may have contributed to its erection. That would cut no figure at all in the right of entrance. It is amazing that Moses Thatcher should attempt to intrude the boast of his contributions into the

question of entering the Temple of God when not in good standing and full fellowship.

His exclusion from the Temple he construes into being "denied the privilege of meeting with the quorum." No one knew better than he that there was no such denial. The assurance given him by Elder F. D. Richards and others of the quorum was proof of their willingness to meet him and their joy at his manifestation of even a desire to meet them. That there were other places and occasions when he could properly have an interview with his brethren he fully understood, and he should have done long before.

In passing I will notice his technical quibble about the closing of the Temple against him on October 15th for his disregard of my letter of October 23d, which he says is hard for him to understand. A careful reading of my letter will show that the difficulty is of his own manufacture. What I said conveys no such meaning as he asserts. I said, "This being the condition of affairs you were not admitted to the Temple on the forenoon of Thursday." "The condition of affairs" which caused that exclusion is set forth in the first paragraph of my letter, and relates to occurrences before the 15th. It is true that my letter of the 23d in reply to his of the 16th is incidentially mentioned, but only as something growing out of what happened on the 15th, and of course was not intended to apply as a condition existing before that date. This perversion of plain language shows what small evasions will be resorted to when one gets into the dark.

THE CONFERENCE ADDRESSES.

Reference to the conference discourses published in the *Deseret News* was made that Brother Thatcher might know exactly what the brethren said, that he might see the necessity there was for the people to understand where he stood, and that he might see the need of putting himself in harmony with the Church authorities.

It is necessary to notice his complaint that he had not been invited to attend the meeting at which final action was taken in his case. In his letter dated November 4th, he says:

"I returned to this city Thursday—a week ago tomorrow—and have daily expected to hear respecting a time when I could see the brethren once more together. No word having reached me respecting that matter, I adopt this means of respectfully asking you when such meeting can be arranged. As early a meeting as convenient will greatly oblige,

Your brother in the gospel,

MOSES THATCHER."

To this I replied, as he has published, under date of November 6:

"In accordance with your wishes for a meeting, I take pleasure in appointing 2 o'clock on Thursday next at the Historian's Office, upon which occasion the quorum will be pleased to meet with you. With kindest regards, your brother and fellow servant,

LORENZO SNOW."

On the day thus appointed the Apostles met at the time and place thus designated, when they received his lengthy communication dated November 11, in which he said:

"I shall not trouble my brethreu therefore to convene in a special meeting named for Thursday at 2 p. m. at the Historian's Office."

Thereupon the Council of the Apostles gave him one week more, and notified him that his case would be called up for action at a meeting to be held in the Historian's Office at 10 a. m. on Thursday, the 19th inst., as appears in my letter, published by him with the other correspondence.

When that day arrived we received this last letter in which he said:

"As there is to be no trial of my case and as I am not requested to be present, I take it to be the purpose of considering my case, etc."

Why should there have been any further tampering with the case? Moses Thatcher was entirely out of harmony with his brethren the Apostles. He was simply required to put himself in accord with them as is required by the Gospel and the order of the councils of the priesthood. That he declined to do. After asking for a time and place to be appointed when he could meet with them, and in response to that request a time and place was set, and the Apostles came from distant points for the purpose of meeting with him, instead of appearing he coolly notified them by letter that he would "not trouble them to convene!" Then when they gave him another week in which to appear, and notified him that his case would be called up for consideration and action, he still treated the council with contempt and asserted: "I am not requested to be present."

That the Council of the Apostles took the only consistent action that was left open must be evident to every Latter-day Saint who has eyes to see and a heart to understand. Why Moses Thatcher did not meet with his brethren, after they had assembled at his own request, is best known to himself. Notwithstanding his past course they were ready to receive him with open arms if he had come in the proper spirit and put himself in accord with them. As he would not, they expelled him from the priesthood as they were in duty bound to do.

GOES FURTHER BACK.

It should be known that the disaffectian of Moses Thatcher dates back to a time long before political difficulties could enter into the matter. President Woodruff has stated publicly that Moses Thatcher had not been in full harmony with his quorum since the death of President John Taylor. Trouble was had with him before that time.

In 1886 he proclaimed in public discourses ideas and predictions not endorsed by his brethren. At Lewiston, Cache County, notes were taken of these utterances and published on a fly-leaf. He was subsequently written to by President Taylor, and his answer is on file. While he claimed that he had not been accurately reported, he gave his own language, under his own hand, to the effect of predictions of events to occur within five years, which have failed of fulfillment and which were founded on erroneous interpretations of scripture. He wrote for publication a sort of retraction which really took nothing back but merely charged partial errors in the report of his extravagant remarks.

He was out of harmony with his brethren in relation to a standing appellate high council, which he claimed should be appointed and which he has never acknowledged was incorrect.

He disputed with President Taylor as to the appointment of President of the Logan Temple and contended for a man of his own selection, even after the President announced the appointment by revelation.

His bearing with his brethren of the Twelve was such that he could not brook dissent and resented their non-acceptance of his personal views.

When Wilford Woodruff's accession to the Presidency was under consideration, as the proper successor, he expressed opinions which showed that he regarded human smartness and business ability as above that simplicity of character and susceptibility to divine impressions which are notable in that faithful servant of God, and objected that such a man could not grasp the situation of affairs or cope with the difficulties arising. He was overruled but persisted in his views.

BUSINESS DIFFICULTIES WITH PRESIDENT CANNON.

When President George Q. Cannon, after the decease of President Taylor, was in prison for infraction of the anti-polygamy laws, Moses claimed that Brother Cannon had defrauded him, and he threatened in the presence of President Woodruff and others of the Twelve to sue him at law and thus bring many private affairs before the public through the courts. Only on being emphatically warned by President Woodruff and others that such a course, particularly in Brother Cannon's condition, would result disastrously to him in his Church position did he desist. On President Cannon's release from confinement the matter was fully investigated and it was demonstrated that instead of Brother Cannon owing him he was in Brother Cannon's debt to an amount which he subsequently paid. For his insults and hard language towards Brother Cannon he has never apologized nor made any amends. This incident is referred to in President Cannon's absence from the State. He has always preserved silence on this matter and did not wish it to be mentioned against Brother Thatcher. But it is important as showing Moses Thatcher's spirit and bearing towards his brethren.

Brother Thatcher makes great pretensions of devotion to the Church and declares he has "never shirked any responsibility." The people in many of the various stakes of Zion who have been visited by the Apostles may ask themselves when they have ever seen Moses Thatcher at their Quarterly Conferences or other Church gatherings.

MEETINGS OF HIS QUORUM.

He has neglected the meetings of his quorum for years. This was not always on account of ill-health. He was able, at least, in the earlier part of the time, to attend to business and pleasure affairs, apparently in good health and spirits. The roll book of meetings of the Presidency and the Apostles shows that from May, 1889 to April, 1896, a period of about seven years, he was in attendance at the regular weekly meetings but 33 times. There were held 277 of those meetings, at which President Woodruff, though weighted down by age and numerous cares, was present 256 times. His absence was always on account of sickness. Brother Thatcher's residence was most of the time in Logan, but the hour was set so that he and others at a distance could have reasonable opportunity to attend.

Brother Thatcher's spirit has been contumacious and he has been self-opinionated and arbitrary. Previous to the dedication of the temple his brethren labored with him for many hours to bring him into the proper frame of mind to unite with them in that sacred ceremony. His condition was not entirely satisfactory at the close of the protracted interview, but was accepted out of charity and mercy to him that he might not be excluded from the dedication, with the hope that the spirit of the occasion would influence him to thorough reconciliation. President Wood-

ruff's announcement of harmony among the brethren was made with this understanding, but has been adroitly turned by Brother Thatcher to shut off all that occurred before that time, and which would not now be alluded to but for his own utterances and reference to his pretended humility and harmony.

THE POLITICAL NOMINATION.

In accepting nomination for a political office, which if elected thereto would have taken him away from his ecclesiastical duties for long periods without consultation with his quorum and the presidency, he could not but have known that he was violating a requirement of high officials in the Church. Yet he would not consult with them, while he was able to attend political gatherings and business meetings although in poor health. Here again he was out of harmony with his brethren.

There was no need for any loss of manhood or proper independence nor the forfeiture of any of the rights of citizenship. But if he did not value his apostleship and priesthood as of the very first consideration he was not worthy to hold them, and his subsequent course shows that he held them in great esteem in theory but in very small esteem in practice. Fine words and sympathetic phrases do very well to influence the public, but they count for nothing in the face of deeds that contradict them, or the failure to do that which is so rhetorically professed.

The standing and fellowship of Moses Thatcher as a member of the Church has not been brought into question, therefore there has been no trial. He has been dealt with by his quorum for lack of harmony with his associates, something that was entirely within his own power to correct without great exertion or much time. If his standing in the Church was at stake specific charges would be made, and he would have to answer to them in the usual way, which is not and has not been by public demonstration.

What has been done was necessary and a duty. Action was not taken until it was certain that no further delay would be of any use or benefit. Moses Thatcher has been treated with greater consideration and mercy than any other man who has taken the course which he has pursued. He has been prayed for, waited upon, pleaded with and wept over until his rebellion and contumacy were seen to be invincible, and he is in open hostility to regulations which the whole Church has adopted and ratified. He could not and cannot be any longer empowered to act in the authority of the holy priesthood.

And now let the Latter-day Saints ponder upon the situation, and take the warning given by the Prophet Joseph Smith as a key to the Church for all time. It is as follows:

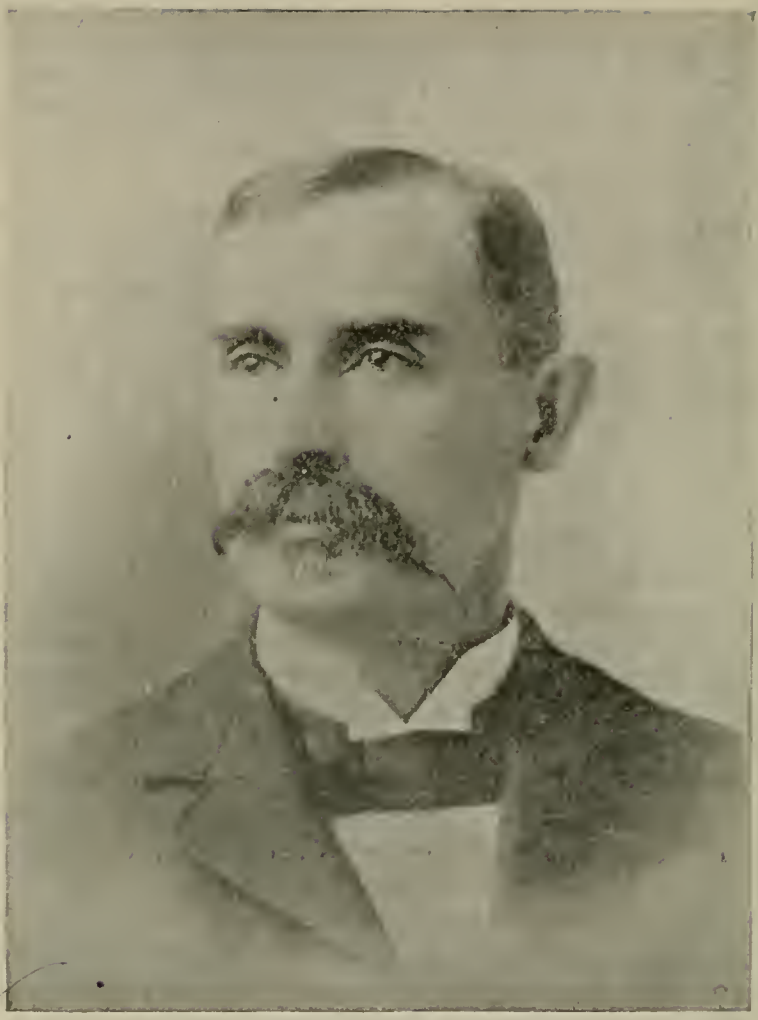
"I will give you one of the keys of the mysteries of the kingdom. It is an eternal principle, that has existed with God from all eternity. That one who rises up to condemn others, finding fault with the Church, saying that they are out of the way, while he himself is righteous, then know assuredly, that that man is in the high road to apostacy; and if he does not repent will apostatize, as God lives.—History of Joseph Smith, July 2, 1839."

In conclusion I repeat the words of him who spake as never man spake:

"He that exalteth himself shall be abased but he that humbleth himself thall be exalted."

Your Brother in the Gospel,

LORENZO SNOW.



MOSES THATCHER.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

A MASTERLY VINDICATION.

The following reply of Moses Thatcher to the "Supplementary Charges" of Lorenzo Snow is a document of unusual importance, one destined to be a historic paper in the annals of Utah. It is the final word in the Church controversy, and the opening chapter of what, it is to be hoped, will be an honorable public career for Moses Thatcher:

LOGAN, UTAH, December 12, 1896.

Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Twelve Apostles:—

1. A Letter that Demands Reply.

DEAR BROTHER:—Your recent letter written for publication in the *Deseret News* at the request of five young men of Salt Lake City, demands an answer from me in the interest of fairness, friends, family and the Saints throughout the world. The duty is a painful one—so painful, indeed, that personal considerations would be a motive insufficient to induce me, even on a matter so vitally important to me and mine, to take up my pen in self-defense.

2. Mr. Snow Betrays Unaccustomed Bitterness.

I have read, and re-read, your open letter and have purposely delayed replying to it, hoping and praying that a sense of right and justice might dictate what I write to one holding the high and responsible position you occupy in the Church, and for whom I entertain sentiments of profound respect—no matter what you may think or say about me. I confess astonishment not only at the letter, but at the spirit of your communication, for, as I have always understood your disposition, your ideas of justice and your love of mercy, that communication does not appear to your advantage. Lorenzo Snow, as I have known him during all the years of his presidency over the Quorum of Apostles, nowhere, to my mind, appears in that bitter and acrimonious communication.

3. Charges Made to the World that were Withheld from Mr. Thatcher.

Political differences in Utah have unfortunately, and, as I believe, unnecessarily, resulted in criminations and recriminations, and in the resurrection of misunderstandings long since explained or settled. Before their introduction I never saw you turn a deaf ear to pleadings for specifications on the part of an accused brother. Nor is it like you to ignore my earnest, often repeated requests for charges against me, which you furnished by the column with evident alacrity for a public print, in order to gratify the apparent curiosity of five young men of Salt Lake City. If, as you say, I was not entitled to a public hearing, as my case was not a public matter, why did you make public charges against me in a newspaper when you refused to give me even an intimation of them in private? It is difficult for me to understand why you have *publicly accused* me when privately you would not; why you presented specified charges against me after my deposal instead of before; why you so readily granted the request of the five young men when you so persistently refused mine; why you gratified their curiosity and that of the public concerning an affair in which you declared I was "the principal party interested." This treatment, this discrimination, is difficult for me to comprehend.

4. The Deposal Held by the News to be "From God" and What Need of Further Reasons for it?

Nor can I conceive the object of those young brethren in asking a furtherr explanation of the conduct of your Quorum toward me, the entire correspondence on the subject being in their possession. The *Deseret News* had already declared officially that the action of deposing me had been "inspired, dictated, authorized and approved of God." Holding the *News*' statements in view, it may seem strange to many of the Saints that the young men should ask further reasons for my deposal, and stranger still that you should deem it necessary to furnish them. Besides, the published correspondence was complete. It told its own story of the patience and forbearance which had been shown me.

5. Worldly Methods of the "Church Organ."

The appearance of those letters in secular newspapers (and I infer from your remarks that the *Deseret News* is not secular) was probably brought about by the direct personal attacks of the *News*, which has not appeared to be friendly to me under its present management. And why should I have gone to the *News* when its columns were daily filled with misrepresenta-

tions of my conduct and position? When it was falsely declaring that I had been pledging political support for months? When it was forcing me upon a platform I had never constructed, and attributing to me words I had never uttered? But have you not seen even official declarations, from those occupying higher positions than I ever held, appear first in a secular newspaper and afterward in the organ of the Church?

6. Attempt to Gain Ground in Public Sentiment.

Why should you feel called upon "to meet some of the statements" contained in that public correspondence? Were you not satisfied with the judgment of the people as to the merits of the controversy? Your side was placed before them just as fully as it had been placed before me. If you believed a further explanation was due, why did you not give it to me when I requested it time and again?

7. The Public More Sympathetic than the Brethren.

Pardon me for quoting the following harsh expression from your open letter:

> The evident purpose in publishing those communications was to excite public sympathy; and the unnecessary and superfluous appeals they contain convey the impression that they were concocted for that purpose.

Judging from the way those appeals were treated, they were, indeed, "superfluous and unnecessary." Had I known that they would have been so regarded, I never would have made them. I will confess they were appeals, not to the public, but to my brethren. They were cries of anguish from a heart racked with pain. They were pleas for mercy—prayers for light—for information as to my offending. But why should you imagine they were published to excite public sympathy? Do you consider that to be the natural result of their publication? An appeal from one in distress, in jeopardy, is not "concocted." Rather does it not require the deliberation of a trained, skilled and diplomatic mind to close the ears and hearts of men against such appeals?

8. A Charge Easily Refuted.

You say:

> During that interval, (April to October) he was visited by many of his brethren, some of them Apostles, and no change was effected, but he failed even to attend the October Conference, or to manifest a disposition to conform to the principles of the Declaration. It is true that he was in poor health during that period, but he was not too ill to upbraid his brethren who tried to impress him with the danger of his position, nor to accuse some of them of having 'blanketed" their conscience in signing the Declaration.

Did you, President Snow, ever hear me say anything of the kind? Which of the brethren did I upbraid or accuse of "blanketing" his conscience? You do not seem aware of the fact that of all the Apostles and members of the First Presidency only one, Apostle F. D. Richards, ever talked with me about the Manifesto since the day it was presented to me for my signature. True, Brothers Richards and Young called one day just as I was leaving my residence in Salt Lake City for the depot with guests, and we talked a few moments while the carriage was waiting at the door.

9. Brother John as Usual Stands with the Brethren.

At another time I said to Brother John Henry Smith: "How could you, knowing as you do of my work in the Church for a quarter of a century, vote for my suspension simply because I could not see my way clear to sign the Manifesto? How could you adjudge me guilty, condemn me and execute your judgment all within a few hours and without a hearing?" He replied: "I will not talk with you about that, for you are too ill, and conversation on that subject will make you nervous." I then said: "Which, Brother John, do you think would make me most nervous and ill, to have the brethren humiliate and degrade me by dropping me out of my place, or talking about it after the deed was done." Said he: "I am with my brethren."

10. "Sick and Ye Visited Me Not."

During all those weary months, while friends and physicians believed I was on the verge of the grave, I was administered to only once by members of our Quorum, although, day after day, engagements made for that purpose were, for reasons unknown to me, not kept, and after the Manifesto was returned to you unsigned, none of the Apostles, excepting the three mentioned, ever came to my house or visited me for any purpose whatever. I do not mention this by way of complaint, but because, from the general tone and certain statements in your letter, you do not seem to be fully acquainted with these facts.

11. Tales Treasured Up for Accusation.

A few men holding less authority in the Church called and argued with me, and sometimes may have heard the peevish plaints of a sick man which, it seems, were carefully delivered and preserved, and with which you are now willing to reproach me. It appears that every groan I uttered in my pain and weakness was borne away and used to poison the minds of those living in the light against a weak and helpless brother.

12. The Right and Duty of Private Judgment.

In this connection I would like to state also that even before the presentation of that Manifesto for my signature not one of the brethren had taken up a labor with me concerning any of the matters it was made to embody. You contend that I should have signed it simply and solely because other officers of the Church had signed it, "without hesitation and without requiring time to deliberate." I cannot see how that statement adds to the credit of the document. Such matters demand deliberation, and because I always so contended I am called "contumacious and obstinate." It may be that Elder B. H. Roberts signed it without consideration, but I have been authoritatively informed that strong and healthy as he was in mind and body several members of the Quorum to which I belonged labored with him day after day for weeks before he consented to accept the principles of absolutism it contains. How many of the brethren deemed it necessary to waste their time on me, though I was sick and near the portals of death? Not one. Yet they expected me to sign it when it was presented, although you say I was considered "contumacious and obstinate." If that was my disposition, why was I not labored with for weeks, or why was I expected to sign it without such attention? Did you really believe me "contumacious and obstinate?"

13. Brother Roberts Laboriously Counseled.

I do not desire to be understood as complaining of the short time given me for the consideration of the Manifesto—the hour and a half at noon on the day my name was dropped from the list of Church officials. I understood the Manifesto then as I understand it now. But when I afterward learned that its claims had been discussed for weeks by the other members of the Quorum of Apostles—that a systematic presentation of its grounds had been devoted to Brother Roberts—I was led to wonder if the brief time allotted me was the result of design or accident.

14. A Strange Quality of Mercy and Fidelity to Pledges!

You say that "out of mercy and compassion" the reasons for degrading me were not given at the April conference. I fail to see wherein I was benefited by a compassion which gave rise to so many rumors, mysterious hints, dark insinuations, slanders and attacks, unjust allusions and unfair comparisons which have been strenuously created and disseminated since that time. Nor can I appreciate the manner in which my case was left "in statu quo" by the remarks of the brethren at the

October conference. I had received assurances and reassurances that nothing would be done or said affecting my case until I should report myself ready for trial. You say: "The assurances to which he refers were faithfully fulfilled. He was left in statu quo." The average man might be hard to convince that his interests would not be affected by creating adverse public opinion, by concerted and preconcerted action on the part of the jurors intrusted with his fate in prejudging and prejudicing the people against him. When a tribunal pronounces a man guilty and announces to the world its judgment, has he been left in "statu quo?"

15. Reasons for Absence from Quorum Meetings.

You complain because I did not for a time attend my Quorum meetings as regularly as others had done. The time to which you call attention covers the period of lingering illness from which I have now almost entirely recovered. But I do not offer my sickness as an excuse for absence, as you had excused me from all official duties during a greater portion of that time, advising me to travel, to seek enjoyment and health.

16. Charges that Shrink from Publicity.

The charge that I have "treated the council with contempt" needs no answer but a reference to the letters which passed between us. I endeavored persistently, patiently, and, as I thought, respectfully, to ascertain what my brethren held against me—what differences there were between us—in order that we might arrive at an understanding and finally what their requirements were. When I went to the meeting-place of the Quorum of Apostles after being assured by brethren that I would be welcome and that no objections would be made, I found the door closed in my face. From that time on till my deposal I pleaded for a statement of the grievances against me but dared not intrude upon my Quorum again without invitation, as I had no desire to give offense.

17. His Mouth Closed and Also the Temple.

I was never aware that I had no right to speak in public meetings until publicly reprimanded for so doing; I did not think I was barred from the Temple until its door was closed in my face. And now you say that I "presumed to attempt an entrance to the Temple." What could I have done? Every move I made was criticised and condemned and seemed to invite new forms of censure and humiliation.

18. Humiliating Exercise of Priesthood Authority.

I have no desire to quibble; but here is a passage in your open letter to which I desire to call your attention:

> It was but a few days after the October conference, even if it had entirely closed, before he appeared and spoke at public meetings as though he still held the authority in which he had not been sustained at Conference. This necessitated the announcement from the First Presidency, through the *Deseret News*, that he had no right to officiate in the priesthood while in his suspended condition. Notwithstanding that announcement, when he chose to present himself to the authorities, he presumed to attempt entrance to the Temple for that purpose, and at a time when the First Presidency, as well as the Twelve, met for the consideration of other church matters and for holding their prayer circle.

I presented myself at the door of the Salt Lake Temple at 11 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 15, 1896. The meeting which promulgated the announcement you refer to was then in session. It was not published in the *Deseret News* until evening, and was not received by me for at least five hours after my return home from the Temple. You will not deny that these are the facts, and yet you blame me for "attempting entrance to the Temple" in disregard of an announcement which had not then been formulated. At no other time did I "attempt entrance to the Temple" to be refused admittance.

19. Ex-Post Facto Discipline.

This point is in direct line with your former statement in our original correspondence to the effect that, because I had seemingly disobeyed your letter of the 23d of October, I was refused admittance to the Temple on the 15th, or eight days before. When I could not understand that, you explained it by saying I was in the dark. No doubt the same explanation will answer in regard to the paragraph above quoted.

20. The Gift More Acceptable than the Giver.

I did not mention my last contribution to the Temple in the way of a boast, but the fact remains that the Temple was, nevertheless, constructed with funds contributed by the Saints. But when President Joseph F. Smith declared that I only gained admission to its dedication "by the skin of my teeth," a statement your open letter seemed to corroborate, I could not recall any hesitancy on the part of any one about asking or receiving my donation during the period of its construction.

21. The Bullion-Beck Matter Shown Up.

Another paragraph in your letter is truly remarkable, and especially wherein the public is informed that "silence" in my interest has been maintained by President Cannon, now absent, as you say, from the State. How far that business transaction between two members of the Church has had a bearing on my affairs, as recently made public from the pulpit and press, I cannot say; but future developements may show its relation to past and present conditions. Its frequent mention in garbled form, as in this instance, and as it has been told in public and private, on highways and byways, shows that it is no secret. And so far as I am concerned, there is nothing in it that I would have anybody trouble himself to keep secret. I will endeavor to convince you, President Snow, that you have not been well posted on this matter. For that, however, I attach no blame to you, for the story of the Bullion-Beck is a long one. I shall not hesitate to face, willingly, my part of the affair. Here is an extract from your letter:

> When President George Q. Cannon, after the decease of President Taylor, was in prison for infraction of the anti-polygamy laws, Moses claimed that Brother Cannon had defrauded him, and he threatened, in the presence of President Woodruff and others of the Twelve, to sue him at law and thus bring many private affairs before the public through the courts. Only on being emphatically warned by President Woodruff and others that such a course, particularly in Brother Cannon's condition, would result disastrously to him in his Church position, did he desist. On President Cannon's release from confinement the matter was fully investigated, and it was demonstrated that instead of Brother Cannon's owing him, he was in Brother Cannon's debt to an amount which he subsequently paid. For his insults and hard language toward Brother Cannon, he has never apologized nor made any amends. This incident is referred to in President Cannon's absence from the State. He has always preserved silence on this matter and did not wish it mentioned against Brother Thatcher. But it is important in showing Moses Thatcher's spirit and bearing toward his brethren.

The closing sentence no doubt satisfies the public as to the reason for bringing the matter up. I am not sorry you mentioned it, as it gives me an opportunity to correct the rumor which has been well circulated among the people. In answer to a letter written by President Woodruff on the 5th of December, 1888, on this very topic, I wrote December 7th, two days later, making the following statement of my position:

"In conclusion, you will permit me to say that I have no disposition, and never have had, to take advantage of any of my brethren in the position in which Brother Cannon is placed; for

I regret his imprisonment, I believe, quite as sincerely as any of my brethren. Upon this point I hardly think that Brother Cannon himself entertains any doubt." For the present, at least, there is no need to go into further details regarding Bullion-Beck matters, except to correct your assertion that "instead of Brother Cannon owing him, he was in Brother Cannon's debt." I can think of no explanation so brief and authentic as a copy of the receipt I gave him in settlement of our financial differences. It reads:

22. A Receipt that Speaks for Itself.

Know all men by these presents, that I do hereby acknowledge the receipt from President George Q. Cannon, of an order signed by him, and dated August 5, 1889, on Secretary George Reynolds for the transfer to myself of twenty-three hundred and sixty-eight 16-63rd (2368 16-63) shares of the "pooled stock" of the Bullion-Beck and Champion Mining Company, and that I have received all the dividends declared and paid by said company on the said 2368 16-63rd shares, as shown by the books of the company, less one-fourth, or 25 per cent. on all dividends declared and paid by said company since September 1, 1888. The said 25 per cent. having been paid, as I am informed, to the Bullion-Beck and California Mining Company.

This receipt is intended and shall operate as in full of all demands and claims by myself, heirs and assigns against President George Q. Cannon on account of said 2368 16-63rd shares of stock when the same shall have been transferred, on surrender to the Secretary of the Company, of the proper stock certificates upon which said transfer may be made, and is in full for the dividends thereon, as specified herein.

MOSES THATCHER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, September 24, 1889.

Those shares, for which I paid, represented a value to me at that time, exceeding $25,000—an amount I did not feel able or willing to lose. My anxiety about it was natural, if not pardonable.

And now let me call your attention to another astounding assertion in your open letter of information to the young men. You say:

23. An Explanation that Ends All Contradiction.

In 1886 he proclaimed in public discourses ideas and predictions not indorsed by his brethren. At Lewiston, Cache county, notes were taken of his utterances and published on a fly-leaf He was subsequently written to by President Taylor, and his answer is on file. While he claimed that he had not been accurately reported, he gave his own language, under his own hand, to the effect of predictions of events to occur within five years, which have failed of fulfilment, and which were founded on erroneous interpretations of Scripture. He wrote for publication a sort of retraction which really took nothing back, but merely changed partial errors in the report of his extravagant remarks.

Not one word uttered by me at Lewiston on the occasion referred to partook of the nature of a prophecy as coming from

me; nor did I predict anything whatever. I stated my belief upon numerous topics, but predicted nothing. I quoted somewhat extensively from the books of revelation, held by us as orthodox, and also from the history of the Prophet Joseph Smith. I was not and could not be held responsible for long-hand reports of what I said, nor for type-written or printed slips said to have been multiplied and circulated among the people. Besides, it is well understood by the Saints that the sermons, even of Apostles, are not regarded as doctrine. Nevertheless, I have constantly endeavored to avoid teaching anything erroneous or out of harmony with the revelations of the Lord.

While in Mexico, in 1886, I was written to by Presidents Taylor and Cannon regarding this matter, and in reply I stated, in substance, what I had said in Lewiston. Of course, I could not remember the exact words I had used, but I closed my letter as follows:

"If, in your view, there is anything in these remarks erroneous, contrary to recorded revelation and history; or contrary to the spirit of inspiration and revelation in you; or, if their utterance by me was premature or imprudent, do me the kindness at your earliest convenience to point the same out, and suggest the means best calculated in your judgment to correct the same, should the inclosed notice—(which, if you think best, can be sent to the *News* for publication)—be considered insufficient to stop the multiplication and circulation among the Saints of erroneous reports of my remarks as heretofore mentioned."

24. A Public Notice to All.

The "notice" was apparently satifactory, as it was published in the *Deseret Weekly News* of December 1, 1886, as follows:

NOTICE.

Any printed or written document circulated, or that may be circulated among the Saints of God, as a report of any sermon, or part of sermon, sermons or parts of sermons; or of any private or public remarks said to have been made by me, are unauthorized unless personally revised by me, or written over my signature. And the making and circulation of any such unauthorized report is without my sanction and without my consent.

MOSES THATCHER.

25. The Deseret News "Sustains" Thatcher.

In the same issue the *News* commented editorially, as follows:

AN UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION.

In another column will be found a notice from Elder Moses Thatcher of the Council of the Apostles. We direct general atten-

tion to it because there has been a great deal of comment over some remarks attributed to him, which have been copied and circulated, and lately have been printed and distributed among the Saints. It is very unfair to take this course unauthorized, and we consider such proceedings worthy of severe censure. Those who have printed and distributed the alleged extracts from a sermon delivered by Elder Thatcher in Cache county, some time ago have, in our opinion, exceeded their right, and those who rely upon the purported remarks as authentic and to be discussed as prophecy or doctrine, may be led into error, as the report thus disseminated is without authority of the speaker. We are pleased to receive the notice from Elder Thatcher, and cheerfully give it a prominent place in our columns.

26. Digging Up Exploded Charges.

Subsequent to the year 1886 no further complaint was made until the appearance of your open letter ten years later, and as no additional requirements were made of me, I had a right to believe the matter long since adjudicated. No one at any time ever intimated to me in any way that this was cherished secretly against me by any of my brethren. Candidly, President Snow, what is there in all this, that in any way can be construed as a justification for the unkind comments you have made upon the circumstance? Your statements are calculated to injure me in the estimation of many people who may have read your letter and condemned me without remembering or having read the *Deseret News* of December 1, 1886. Surely you would not intentionally do me an injury.

27. An Ecclesiastical Tangle Unraveled.

You say further:

> He disputed with President Taylor as to the appointment of president of the Logan Temple, and contended for a man of his own selection, even after the President announced the appointment by revelation.

The truth of this matter is made plain by the action of President Taylor in setting me apart on the same day as one of the counselors of the President of the Logan Temple. President Taylor would not have introduced discord in the Temple, and had I contended against him that would have been the effect. I would not have been made third officer in that sacred place if I had been in such open rebellion as you depict. President Taylor was my guest in Logan at the time the president of Logan Temple was named. On the morning of the day the appointment was made, President Taylor came down stairs, and before breakfast stated, in the presence of witnesses, that he felt impressed to appoint M. W. Merrill president of the Logan Temple, and asked me what I thought of it. I replied that it was a good selection; that he might search the Stake over and

not find a man better adapted to the position. And I gave as my reasons that Brother Merrill was financially well to do and could afford to give to the work his time and attention; that he was secretive and methodical in his habits. President Taylor said he was pleased to hear me say so. I never at any time, or in any place opposed the appointment, but was continued third officer in that Temple till, by the action of my quorum, I was deprived of all priestly offices.

28. Explanations that Refute Charges.

Although on this point you make a very positive charge against me, you may have this matter confused with the selection of a President for Cache Stake. In my absence from Conference in Salt Lake, from which I was excused by President Taylor on account of illness in my family, Elder C. O. Card was chosen Stake President to succeed Bishop Preston, who had been called to the office he now holds. A few days later I was informed by a member of my Quorum as to the action taken in the matter of the Cache Stake Presidency, and my opinion was asked about it. I stated that since Elder Card had been unanimously chosen I acquiesced. Later on, an effort was made to remove President Card, which movement I opposed. I took the ground that, while Brother Merrill was the stronger character, I would oppose the removal of President Card as his appointment was generally known among the people, and his summary dismissal was sure to result in his irreparable injury. I only mention this matter because there is no foundation for complaint in the other incident, and you may have confused the two. I cite this as a possible reason for your charge because I have no desire to quibble.

Here is another of your specific charges:

When Wilford Woodruff's accession to the Presidency was under consideration, as the proper successor, he expressed opinions which showed that he regarded human smartness and business ability as above that simplicity of character and susceptibility to divine impressions which are notable in that faithful servant of God, and objected that such a man could not grasp the situation of affairs or cope with the difficulties arising. He was overruled, but persisted in his views.

29. Reply to Another Charge that Seems Malicious.

To my mind there never was any question about the "proper successor" to President Taylor. I did not regard it as a debatable matter, for I always held President Woodruff as the logical successor to President Taylor. I maintained this at the time, and have since testified to its propriety on many

occasions. I have always held that, with the death of a President, dies the authority of his counselors as counselors; and the supreme authority of the Church is then vested in the Quorum of Apostles. Upon the death of President Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, as the head of the leading Quorum of the Church, was therefore the leading officer in the Church.

30. A Hint as to Proprieties.

In my view, no one had a right to assume his authority or issue addresses to the Latter-Day Saints ignoring him. Yet an address was issued which did not deign to mention President Woodruff or any of the Apostles. Had my name been signed to it you might well accuse me of attempting to oppose the accession of President Woodruff, but my name was not there. If there was a contest between human smartness and simplicity of character for the Presidency, I assure you my preferences were for the latter. Simplicity of character is an ornament to any position, although it is often subservient to "human smartness."

You make this general charge against my temper or disposition:

> His bearing with his brethren was such that he could not brook dissent, and resented their non-acceptance of his personal views.

31. Independence of Thought Charged as Insubordination.

I have always tried to be honest, careful, considerate and conscientious with my brethren. I confess that I have had my personal views on almost every question that came up. I had thought I was entitled to them. Had I entertained the slightest doubt of my right in the Quorum to my opinions I would never have given the six brethren to whom you refer the opportuuity to vote me an apostleship. As it was, I protested part of three days before giving my consent to President Taylor. But if I ever resented the non-acceptance of my views on any question where I had been accorded the right to present them, I do not recall it.

32. The Real Grievance was Refusal to Sign the Manifesto.

And now I come to what appears to be the chief reason for my suspension and subsequent deposal, viz.: The political Manifesto read in the April Conference. I regard this as the main difference between us, because of the space you give it in your open letter; and because President George Q. Cannon said plainly to Elder B. H. Roberts that it was not right to circulate other charges about me as my name would not have been dropped had I signed the Manifesto; and because a leading

Apostle declared that, within three days from my refusal to sign, I would have been brought to trial had my health permitted; also because I was never publicly or privately accused of the other offenses you charge until after its presentation for my signature; and last, because at the Logan High Council meeting President Joseph F. Smith gave that as the reason for my suspension. You say "there was nothing new in that document as it relates to Church discipline;" that "it contains that which has always been an established doctrine of the Church:" and that "usually men do not require much time to consider a matter which they have always held to be right."

33. Pledges and Laws Arrayed Against the Manifesto.

Had my views relating to this subject harmonized with your statements there would have been no hesitancy on my part in signing that instrument, or accepting this rule of discipline. Had I understood that is was simply an old and established doctrine of the Church I would have given no attention to the previously published declarations of the presiding Quorum of the Church respecting the absolute political liberty and individual responsibility of the citizens of Utah. And I believe that perfect freedom of political action unrestrained by fear of ecclesiastical punishment is essential under our Republican form of Government. This principle is so well established in the Declaration of Independence, in the National Constitution and in the Constitution of our own State, that it needs no argument to sustain it. Could I have accepted as a fact your statements I would have saved myself the distress that has followed my course regarding the Manifesto of October, 1890, which was generally considered and is still regarded as the first public and effective movement toward securing Statehood for Utah.

34. Covenants that Bind the First Presidency and Mormon People.

But my vote was sincere; and so it was a year later when the authorities and Saints of the Church, in General Conference assembled, pledged themselves as individuals, and as a people, to this Government, that the members of their Church *should be untrammeled* in all civil concerns; when it was declared that there was no foundation or excuse for the statement that Church and State were united in Utah, or that the leaders of the Church dictated to the members in political matters; and that whatever appearance of Church domination there might have been in the past, nothing of the kind would be attempted in the future. I sincerely believed in

these declarations and the subsequent official declarations of the authorities of the Church on this subject. On the 18th day of March, 1892, the First Presidency of the Church declared, over their official signatures:

> We have no desire to interfere in these (political) matters, but proclaim that, as far as we are concerned, the members of this Church are entirely and perfectly free in all political matters.

In a leading editorial the *Deseret Evening News* reaffirmed the position of the authorities as stated in their public declarations, and added:

> The public, however, must not expect that a leading churchman shall become a political eunuch because of his ecclesiastical position. He is as much a citizen with all the powers and liberties of a citizen as if he were a layman or an infidel.

35. The Times Interview.

And the views expressed by the First Presidency in the celebrated *Times* interview must bear a portion of the responsibility for the sentiments so thoroughly grounded in me. I call your attention to the following extracts from the answers carefully prepared by them:

"Does the Church claim the right to dictate to its members in political matters?"

"The Church does not claim any such right."

"That being true, are we to understand that the Church will not assert any right to control the political action of its members in the future?"

"This is what we wish to convey and have you understand. As officers of the Church, we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body."

"Do you believe that it is the wish of the Mormon people to unite with the great National parties and to conduct politics in this Territory as they are conducted in all other States?"

"That is the impression we have received from conversation with the men among us who take the greatest interest in political matters."

"Is there any reasons why the members of the Church should not act freely with the National parties at all times?"

"We know of no reason why they should not."

"Is there any foundation for the charge that the Mormon leaders are now engaged in a political conspiracy to secure political power for the Church?"

"There is not the least ground for any such statement. We are not engaged in any conspiracy of this character."

"The opponents of party division on National lines declare that they want evidence of the sincerity of the Mormon people. The *Times* would ask you to state whether the declarations of sincerity on the part of those leaders, who have been before the public, reflect your views and meet with your approval?"

"Those declarations express our views and have our entire approval."

"What greater evidence can be asked than that which has already been given? It has been asserted, in addition, that the people were governed by the Priesthood in political matters. This is now disproved by the dissolution of the People's party and the union of its members with the two National parties. What could possibly be gained by the action of the people if they were not sincere? If the elements of sincerity were wanting, such a movement would result in entire demoralization."

36. Inviolability of the Pledges.

If I could have looked upon these grave and solemn declarations differently I might have been spared the pain and humiliation following my failure to sign what you say has "always been a doctrine of the Church." If this were well established and generally understood to be "a doctrine of the Church," was not its reissuance in documentary form wholly unnecessary? You ask:

Why should Moses Thatcher alone, of all the Church authorities, feel that he could not sign it, as he alleges, without stultification? Was not that in itself evidence that he was and had been out of harmony with his brethren? And are they not men as little disposed as any one living to stultify themselves, or to assent to anything wrong that is of vital importance to them and to the Church?

37. Honesty is the Best Policy.

I could not sign that Manifesto because I had indorsed the others heretofore quoted, and because I could not reconcile this last one with those made by my file leaders and ecclesiastical supporters between 1890 and the date of Utah's admission into the Union. I must be permitted to suggest that my fellow members of the Quorum to which I once belonged can define better than any one else their views of right and wrong and their ideas of what constitutes "stultification," but nevertheless, like myself, they are subject to human weaknesses and human errors. As students of history each citizen must determine how long any people can prosper under the practice of punic faith, secretly carried into effect or openly avowed. The declarations of perfect political freedom to all the Saints are just as binding to-day as they were before we obtained Statehood, and it is the duty of every citizen of Utah to so regard them.

38. Sustained by "Counsel" and Conscience.

And now, having shown by quotations from unquestioned authoritative sources why I should not, without stultification, sign the political Manifesto, I am bound to stand where counsel and conscience have placed me; for, with other citizens

of Utah, I was bidden "to attach myself to the party of my choice and then be true to that party."

While doing that I have constantly endeavored to show, upon every proper occasion, that respect and honor due my ecclesiastical superiors. I had thought that there was room in Utah, as elsewhere, for a citizen to do his whole duty to the State without interfering, in the least degree, with his obligations to the church of which he might be a member.

39. Independence of Church and State.

The views respecting non-union of Church and State are those I have held and openly advocated for more than a quarter of a century. Recent occurrences have intensified rather than modified them, and I now comprehend better than heretofore the wisdom expressed in that part of our State Constitution relating to the absolute separation of civil and religious matters. And while the State is bound to protect the church in the fullest possible religious freedom, the church must not attempt directly or indirectly to dominate in civil or political affairs.

40. Mormon Doctrine on Church and State.

As Latter-Day Saints we are doubly bound to take cognizance of this. Loyalty to the Government protecting us demands it, and the law of the Lord requires it. I quote from section 58, paragraph 21, page 219, Book of Doctrine and Covenants:

> Let no man break the laws of the land, for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land.

Again, from section 98, paragraph 4 to 9, inclusive, page 342.

> And now, verily I say unto you concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them; and that the law of the land is constitutional, supporting that principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind, and is justifiable before Me; therefore, I, the Lord, justify you, and your brethren of My Church, in befriending that law which is the constitutional law of the land; and as pertaining to the law of man. Whatsoever is more or less than these cometh of evil.
>
> I, the Lord God, make you free, therefore you are free indeed; and the law also maketh you free; nevertheless, when the wicked rule, the people mourn.

41. A Vision of Patriotism and Prosperity.

There is no room here for comment. It holds me in the silken warp and woof of liberty and love woven in the Almighty's loom of truth and justice. Planting my feet upon that divinely inspired platform, and laying upon its altar honor, fortune, and, if necessary, life itself, I look anxiously but hopefully forward to the day

when petty jealousies, envious hatred and malicious accusations shall be deeply buried beneath mountains of peace, prosperity and happiness resting permanently in Utah, upon the wide toleration and good will of her inhabitants toward all creeds and classes throughout the world. Should I live to witness one such day—the beginning of a series that shall not end—the memory of pains, afflictions, tears and sighs shall pass, even as a dream at the dawn of a new day.

Utah pioneers—the aged and venerable—Utah's brave sons and daughters, deserve such a happy consummation.

42. A Record of Church Work.

And what is there in human requirement or divine injunction to prevent me from humbly trying to devote the remainder of my days to the cause in which I have spent nearly forty years? It is true there are some of the Stakes in Zion whose good people, as you state, I have never visited at their homes. But it is equally true that nearly half my time since I became a member of the Church has been spent upon missions of various kinds. During a period of six years I crossed the line into Mexico some twenty-three times, and for quite a long period my annual travels covered from 15,000 to 20,000 miles a year. There are, I believe, some members of the quorum to which I once had the honor of belonging, who have never, to my knowledge, been on a mission at all. But I would not infer from that they have neglected the duties of their calling.

43. Candid Objections to the Manifesto.

As I have already stated, I understood the Manifesto at the time it was handed me for approval, just as I understand it now. While it ostensibly appeared not to restrict the liberties of the people, yet there was no limitation to its application, and in view of the fact that nearly every male member of the Church holds some office, and as there has, as yet, been no public decision announced as to the officers to be controlled by it, there have arisen disputes and differences of opinion as to its intent. This being true, and the danger being that it could be applied to restrict the liberties of the people, I cannot sustain it. I thought then, as I think now, that such a course would be a stultification. I had never dreamed that a condition would arise in my life where I could not serve God fully and yet yield my complete allegiance to my country and to my State. The spirit of the Manifesto, as it appealed to me, was in violent antagonism to all I had believed and publicly proclaimed for

many years, and I could not, and, so far, have not been able to, bring myself to a point where I believed I should yield my political judgment to any set of men, however praiseworthy their intentions.

44. By Birth and Religion a Patriot.

The position taken by me in political affairs was one that I could not alter. Through my veins and into them for generations has been sifted a blood that acknowledged the supremacy of the people only in civil affairs. Because of this it was easy for me to understand and accept the principles of Christ as explained by our Church, which, as I understand them, accord the right of freedom and grant the free agency of man before God and among men. And it is because these rights are accorded men under the Gospel of Christ, as accepted by Latter-day Saints, that I have yielded obedience to the Gospel, have labored for it, and love it for the labor I have given it.

45. Motives Actuating Him in Political Life.

This assertion may not be accepted by you, but such activity as I have shown in politics has been caused by an anxiety to preserve the reputation of my file leaders when they gave assurances of *political honesty* among the Saints, for there were intimations—and they are well known—that in pledging political freedom to the people of Utah, the authorities were insincere in their declarations. My unwillingness to take part in Democratic campaigns, in face of the course of my Republican brethren, was one of the grounds on which it was asserted that the Church authorities had broken faith. While I have loved Democracy, because to me its name embodies all of civil liberty, yet I did not want to take an active part in politics because of my poor health, and because I did not deem it wise for one holding my position in the Church to become aggressive in the division movement. Yet, against my own judgment, in defiance of the demands of my health, and that it might not be said of the First Presidency that their pledges were given to deceive, I made some political speeches.

46. Binding Quality of the Manifesto.

For the same reason—having in mind the honor of the people and the reputation of the Church leaders and against my solemn protest—I consented that my name should be used as a Senatorial candidate. For this act I was taken to task at a priesthood meeting. When the Manifesto was presented to me it appeared to my mind as a command on all to recognize the

right of the Church authorities to control political concerns; it meant, so far as I was concerned a recantation of the principles I had for years advocated—a receding from the ground I had occupied during the division movement, and, above all, it made me feel that I would be untrue to myself.

47. Dangerous Power Lodged in the Manifesto.

I do not claim that I cannot be wrong. But with the light I have, the Manifesto (applied as its construction will allow, or, as it would be interpreted by men whose personal ambitions might control and subvert their sense of right,) could be operated to the injury of the State.

48. The People Must be Exalted to True Citizenship.

If, as I hold, the people have enough intelligence to deserve citizenship, then they have sufficient intelligence to become acquainted with the responsibilities of citizenship, and they have no more right to yield their judgment in respect of the exercise of the franchise than have any set of men to attempt to control that judgment.

49. A Platform true to Jefferson and Lincoln.

Whatever the cost, with the knowledge now guiding me, I must still stand where I have stood for years. My whole life and its work contradict the charge that I could seek office on a platform antagonistic to any church. I should oppose any man who stood upon such a platform. I did say that if the voters of the State of "young Utah" believed I represented principles they deem deserving of recognition, and was, therefore, tendered the United States Senatorship, I would accept. For the information of those interested, it must be understood that I am a Democrat, with all the word signifies. As a Democrat, I hold it a duty for every citizen to enjoy the privileges conferred upon him by our Government, and that it is given to no man, to no corporation, and to no body of men to control the citizen in the exercise of his franchise.

I believe in that Democracy which declares for equal and exact justice to all, with special privileges to none.

I am for a Jeffersonian government, in which, so far at least as legislation makes to that end, there shall be no extremely rich and no abjectly poor. I favor the principle of an income tax.

I am for the money of the Constitution as interpreted in the Democratic platform adopted at Chicago this year.

I am for a tariff that will realize the amount necessary to

conduct the Government without running it into debt in times of peace; but that tariff must be so levied and so adjusted that its burdens and advantages shall be borne and shared alike by all industries and by all parts of our common country.

I am with the State Constitution in the declaration that there shall be an absolute separation of church and state; that the state shall not control the church, nor the church encroach on the prerogatives of the state, and to this end I have endorsed and still endorse the declarations of the Democratic Reconvened Convention of a year ago.

50. True to both Church and State.

I invite neither the support nor the opposition of the Church. It has no concern in political issues. The members of my former Quorum have deemed it expedient to deprive me of my priesthood. If I discuss their action, it is as a Church member. As a citizen and a Democrat, I concede their right to discipline me for any cause whatever. As a member of the Democratic party, as a citizen, I deny their right or their intention to interfere with my politics, the threat of the *Deseret News*, as the Church organ, to the contrary notwithstanding.

51. And lo! Ben Adim's Name led all the rest!

In conclusion I desire to say that I do not complain of the treatment accorded me, nor do I murmur at the humiliation to which I have been subjected, but I cannot think the threatened excommunication from the Church, as intimated in some quarters, can be seriously entertained. Am I to be driven out of the Church because of the Manifesto? I shall try and live the religion of our Savior. I want to live and die among my brethren and friends. I desire to do my duty to my Church. I wish my children to observe the principles of the Gospel, that they, too, may desire to live, die and be buried by the side of their father, when they shall reach, on the hillside, a final place of peace and rest.

With sentiments of esteem, I am, as heretofore, your brother in the Gospel,

MOSES THATCHER.

REMARKS ON FOREGOING ADDRESS.

The foregoing paper of Moses Thatcher is highly meritorious in many respects. It was written hurriedly by him after having spent a week in overhauling letters and papers in search of the documents which he has presented in his defense. Notwithstanding hasty composition his letter expresses his thought and argument in a scholarly and elegant style; his logic is thoroughly pertinent and unanswerably conclusive; his tone in relation to the Church is pathetc and respectful; his attitude toward the State is statesmanly, intelligent and truly patriotic. His political creed is full to the brim with the magnetism of civil liberty; his manhood is cast in the mould of American independence; his heart is vitalized with the spirit that immortalized Jefferson and Lincoln.

No confession of political faith could be more timely or effective under the circumstances. By the remarkable aggressiveness of the last letter of Lorenzo Snow; by its unwarrantable and unseemly digging up of dry bones and exploded charges; by its needlessly acrimonious bitterness; by the weakness, invidiousness and triviality of its allegations; by its ruthless disregard of the plighted faith of the First Presdency and the whole Church; by its authoritative and supercilious tone of command over the political sphere of the citizen; by its inquisitorial assumption of disciplinary power—by all these outcroppings of pontifical domination rather than Christian brotherhood, Moses Thatcher has been driven into an exhibition of moral and statesmanly qualities which might otherwise have remained hidden.

He has made no attack on either the Mormon Church or its discipline. He has simply stood as an unbroken phalanx upon the principles of democracy enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the State of Utah, and more recently in the platform of the Reconvened Convention, Oct. 22, 1895. If the Church or any member of the Church feels that an assault has been made upon the doctrine or discipline of the Mormon faith, it is a mistaken thought. If there is any trouble, it is wholly and solely due to the fact that certain leading officials have put the Church on the track of Civil Liberty; and as the car of human progress

moves onward, the Church is liable to have its unpatriotic rules of discipline crushed under the resistless wheels.

Moses Thatcher is not antagonizing the Church or any rule of the Church, when he declines to renounce his political agency; he is merely performing his part as a free citizen; he is carrying out in good faith the declarations of the Reconvened Convention. He is truly fulfilling the pledges made by the authorities and membership of the Mormon Church.

Whatever the outcome of Moses Thatcher's career, whether he be overwhelmed in the warefare headed by the "Church organ," or achieve recognized leadership in the party which has now most nobly declared for the principles of Jefferson; whatever the result, he is a factor in Utah history, and doubtless an instrument in the hands of All Merciful God for promoting the welfare of the people of Utah and the entire inter-mountain region. *There can be no doubt* that some of the leaders of the Mormon Church have in their hearts, either consciously or unconsciously, to dominate the State.

Mr. Thatcher has long been an avowed patriot. He has never held his religion as a means of extinguishing the state. He has always given both church and state an independent recognition. When the pledges of the past half-dozen years were made, he held them and ratified them *without "mental reservation."* He was as earnest in behalf of the State as he was in behalf of the Church. *And all his troubles have come from this earnestness and fidelity.*

With this sincerity and rectitude of character, with the attainment of a leading position in the Church, with a large share of love and respect on the part of his people, with a large following of friends and acquaintances who trust and honor him for his innate kindness and rectitude of heart, with unusual talents and a native resoluteness and buoyancy of character—with these several endowments, no one can be pointed out in Utah so well qualified to influence his Mormon brethren and lead them into the pathway of Civil Liberty, and guard them against those tendencies which if unimpeded, will encroach upon the State and keep Utah embroiled with internal discord and create perpetual friction with neighboring states and the general government.

It seems hardly necessary to emphasize the completeness of his refutation of the numerous charges made against him in Lorenzo Snow's letter. Some of them are trivial; all of them would have been waived as mere fictions of gossamer, had

Moses Thatcher yielded to his Quorum and his superiors the right to dictate his political agency by "Counsel."

But see how completely the main charges are answered, and even turned as a boomerang against his accusers! What is left of the Cannon business matter except the clear indication that he would have lost all his Bullion-Beck stock had he not resolutely claimed his property at the hands of an ecclesiastical management that would have construed a *trust* into a "dedication" and a "dedication" into *ownership?*

And as to Church service, look at Moses Thatcher's wonderful record of travel—hundreds of thousands of miles—his long absences, the disabilities of poor health, his large money contributions, his unremitting labors for the cause of Christ as he understands the principles of the Gospel.

And as to other charges, such as the Appellate High Council Court, the appointment of the President of the Logan Temple, the Chief Presidency of Wilford Woodruff, contumacy, non-submission, arbitrariness, and such like; *in the light of the foregoing reply, they all fade away as the baseless fabric of a dream!* And there is not one of those accusing "brethren" that does not know and feel that if he were in want, either of temporal sustenance or spiritual consolation and sympathy, he could go to Moses Thatcher and be met with open arms and generous heart; the past would be forgotten, and naught but human kindness and Christian charity would govern his conduct. It seems a pity that those "brethren" who prepared the supplementary charges for Lorenzo Snow to adopt, should think it necessary to ransack the English language to find words of vituperation with which to chastise Moses Thatcher for things that they knew were simply "trumped up;" *and all this in order to divert attention from the real point of dissatisfaction—the refusal to sign the Manifesto!* Has not B. H. Roberts stated that George Q. Cannon said that Moses Thatcher should be charged with this offense only and nothing else? Will Mormon brethren be blind?—or will they open their eyes and see? This is a matter serious enough to command individual and unbiased attention. Do not relinquish your birthright of freedom, of individuality, of personal identity. Know for yourself and judge for yourself, just as you have to bear your own burdens and be judged for your own deeds.

There is only *one issue* in all this case—the Manifesto with its rule of counsel providing a clever piece of machinery where-

by the Chief Authorities of the Church can control politics within the State of Utah, and to a considerable extent without, if they so desire. The foregoing address of Moses Thatcher is chiefly valuable in meeting this issue in a manly, unambiguous and statesmanly manner. His mind and heart are sincerely and unselfishly wrought into the issue, and he speaks in a way that must challenge the admiration of every lover of liberty!

Of all the prominent Mormon churchmen Moses Thatcher is now the one that stands squarely for an honest fulfillment of the pledges of the Church!

Of all the leading officials he is the one that stands squarely on the platform adopted by the Reconvened Convention!

Of all the Mormon High Priesthood Moses Thatcher is the one that stands for the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln as the American people understand those principles!

May God add His merciful guidance and abundant goodness to the end that Moses Thatcher — a humble instrument in His Omnipotent hand—may be the means of giving to Utah a thorough establishment in the principles of Civil Liberty and Individual Independence!

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